# The Contradictory Purposes:

# CNTV English in Global Media Flows

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# Abstract

This thesis explores the role of *CNTV English*, the English edition of the first national Internet TV, China Network Television (CNTV), launched by the state-owned national China Central Television in 2009. My interest in this topic was triggered by the ambitions of CNTV English to be an influential platform for a global audience and bring significant impact to the world. My aim in this research was to investigate the roles of *CNTV English* as a contra-flow and a Chinese state-owned media.

To study *CNTV English*'s role and purposes in global communication, I utilize Daya Thussu's typology of media flows, contra-flows and dominant flows. I propose that it is effective to examine how *CNTV English* functions in everyday practice, in differentiating it from the Chinese edition of *CNTV* (*CNTV Chinese*) and from the perceived mainstream Western broadcaster like *CNN.com*.

I conduct the comparative analyses with emphasis on the editorial policies, target audiences and news frames of *CNTV English, CNTV Chinese and CNN.com.* The comparisons first explore how the editorial policy, target audience and intended purposes of *CNTV English* influence its news frames in contrast to *CNTV Chinese.* Then the focus shifts to how *CNTV English* frame its news in contrast to *CNN.com* so as to investigate its role as a contra-flow.

The comparisons show that *CNTV English* has more freedoms to frame certain news events and decide what to report when compared to *CNTV Chinese*. However, I also found that the primary goal for *CNTV English* is to fulfill the external propaganda function and the party's mouthpiece instead of acting as an influential global media. The roles as a state-owned media and a global media player lead *CNTV English* to a set of irreconcilable conflicts.

The research conclusion sheds light on rethinking the concept of contra-flows. The dilemma *CNTV English* encountering handicaps its functioning as a powerful counter-hegemonic media flow.

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# Contents

**Abstract** ..... **i**

**Acknowledgements** ..... **ii**

**Chapter 1 Introduction** ..... **1**

1.1 CNTV as State-owned Media ..... 3

1.11 News coverage from CNTV and *CCTV* ..... 4

1.2 China in the Global Media Flow after 1978 ..... 4

1.21 External propaganda and soft power ..... 6

1.22 The competition of CNTV locally and globally ..... 7

1.3 CNTV English in Contrast to CNTV Chinese and CNN.com ..... 8

1.4 Research Questions ..... 13

1.5 Outline of the study ..... 15

**Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review** ..... **17**

2.1 The Typology of Media Flows ..... 17

2.11 One-Way news flow after WWII ..... 17

2.12 Media Imperialism and Situation in China ..... 18

2.13 Today: dominant flows or contra-flows? ..... 21

2.14 Online news and media flows ..... 22

2.2 News Framing ..... 24

2.21 Framing as a process: frame-building ..... 24

2.22 Frame-building and target audience ..... 25

2.23 Frame-setting and frames in the news ..... 26

2.24 News Framing: Texts but also visuals ..... 27

2.3 CNN Effect ..... 28

**Chapter 3 Methodology** ..... **30**

3.1 A Qualitative Research Design ..... 30

3.2 Comparative Perspectives ..... 31

3.3 Framing Analysis ..... 32

3.31 Tools to define the news Frames ..... 32

3.4 Selections of News Events ..... 34

3.41 International intervention in Libya ..... 35

3.42 Yueyue's incident in China ..... 37

3.5 Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CQDAS) ..... 37

3.6 Interview .....38
**Chapter 4 Comparison of CNTV Chinese and CNTV English .....39**
4.1 Editorial System and Policy of CNTV.....39
4.11 Editorial Directives and Instructions .....42
4.2 The News Coverage of the International Intervention in Libya 2011 .....44
4.21 The special topic page on CNTV English and CNTV Chinese .....45
4.22 Comparison: The biography of Gaddafi .....48
4.23 Comparison: Coverage of the UN Security Council votes .....50
4.24 Comparison: Coverage of the Initial of the Allied airstrikes .....52
4.3 The Coverage of Yueyue's incident .....58
4.4 Discussion .....62
**Chapter 5 Comparison of CNTV English and CNN.com .....65**
5.1 Characteristics of CNN.com .....65
5.2 The Coverage of the International Intervention in Libya 2011 .....67
5.21 Comparison: The biography of Gaddafi .....67
5.22 Comparison: Coverage of the UN Security Council votes .....71
5.23 Comparison: Coverage of the initial of the Allied airstrikes .....75
5.3 The Coverage of Yueyue's incident .....81
5.4 Discussion .....84
**Chapter 6 Research Findings and Discussions.....86**
6.1 Rethinking the Concept of Contra-flows .....91
6.2 The Internal Contradictions of CNTV English .....92
6.3 An Alternative to the Chinese Edition .....94
**References.....I**
**Appendix I: Interview Guide .....X**

# List of Graphics and Screenshots

## Graphics

Graphic 1, the daily traffic rank trend of CNTV.cn .....2

Graphic 2, F-shape heat-map .....12

Graphic 3, an integrated process model of framing .....25

## Screenshots

Screenshot 1, *CNN.com International* Edition.....9

Screenshot 2, CNN.com Arabic Edition.....9

Screenshot 3, The main page for CNTV English's news. .....10

Screenshot 4, The main page for CNTV Chinese's news.....11

Screenshot 5, CNTV English's Topic Page for the Military Intervention in Libya) .....46

Screenshot 6, CNTV Chinese's Topic Page for the Military Intervention in Libya .....47

# Abbreviation

China Network Television= CNTV

Communist Party of China= CPC

The Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China Central Committee= CPD

State Administration of Radio, Film and Television= SARFT

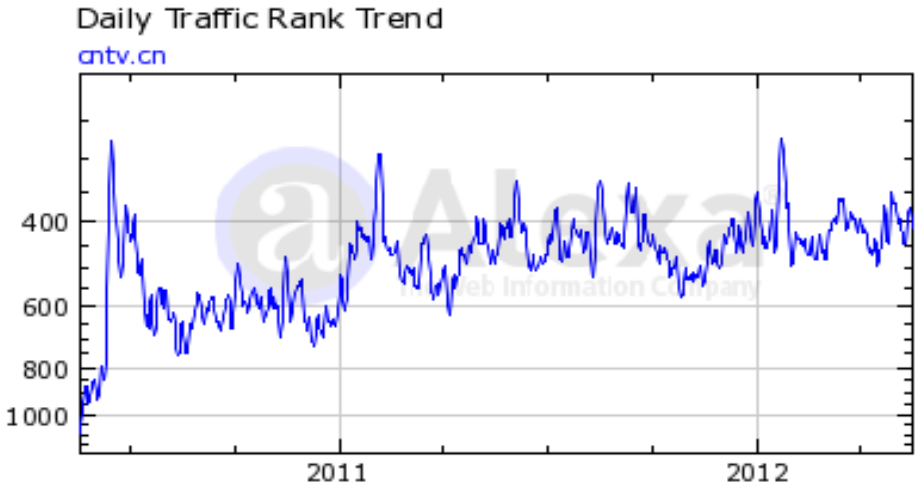
# Chapter 1 Introduction

The research subject of this study is the English edition of China Network Television (*CNTV English*). China Network Television (*CNTV)* is a national Internet TV station launched by the state-owned national China Central Television (*CCTV*) in December 2009. It is a privileged TV portal, being the first website obtaining online TV operation license issued by the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) in China. *CNTV* is an expansive platform with eleven languages. According to Li Changchun, a standing member of the Politburo, who was in charge of the Publicity Department of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, *CNTV* aims at leading public opinion towards the "right" direction, building an influential, informational interactive platform for a global audience and bringing significant impact to the world so as to become the largest online broadcaster in China (Gu, 2009). As CNTV is created as one of China's answers to the global media flow, it is vital to study the website's English application that plays the role of bridging international audience and the voice of China

The English edition is not CNTV's only foreign language edition. Under the domain name, "*www.cntv.cn"*, CNTV makes its content available in eleven languages. Each edition is a full grown site featuring a news section, a section of audio-visual interaction and a section of multi-terminal public service. The rich and entertaining content is designed to attract young Internet users and reach a bigger audience with diverse needs (Ha, 2010). On the Chinese edition of CNTV (*CNTV Chinese)*, users can watch programs from all channels of *CCTV* and those from other Chinese TV channels if they download a video client-end named CBox. In addition, users can access an online community called "C-Friend", a counterpart knock-off of YouTube which allows users to upload and share original videos. Fewer functions were developed on *CNTV English*. However, the English version is more enriched than other foreign language versions, with videos from the *CCTV-NEWS*[1] and the documentary channel that can be watched live. Another unique feature here is a channel called "Learn Chinese" as a practical attraction to foreigners.

[1] *CCTV-NEWS*, also known as *CCTV*-9, is the 24/7 global English news channel of *CCTV*. In April 2010, *CCTV*-9 was renamed to *CCTV-NEWS* officially.

*CNTV* is designed to serve as a Chinese news portal for both domestic and global Internet users. By deployment of mirror sites across the world, this platform is made available to Internet users in nearly 100 countries and regions in North America, Europe, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. According to the statistics from Alexa accessed on 20th May 2012, *CNTV* attained a traffic rank of 65 among users in China, and 406 in the global rank (See Graphic 1). The demographic indicates that the number of its visitors has continuously grown though *CNTV* is comparatively young. According to Alexa's statistics, "Relative to the general internet population, 25-34 year olds are over-represented at cntv.cn." It shows that CNTV successfully attracted younger audiences.




**Graphic 1, the daily traffic rank trend of CNTV.cn from April 2010 to April 2012 (Alexa.com, 20th May 2012)**

Of the website's traffic, 92% was from China, while the rest from United States, South Korea, Japan and Hong Kong. The news section in *CNTV Chinese* is the most popular as around 22% of the visitors went to CNTV for this section; they even have more visitors than the main webpage "www.cntv.cn". The major audience for CNTV is the Chinese audience. So far more visits to CNTV come from within China other than without, which may explain why *CNTV Chinese* is more popular than *CNTV English*. However this does not make the status of *CNTV English* less important, because as a state-owned media, its strategic importance is endowed from above, rather than underpinned by popularity. In addition, the reputation of CNTV is quite high as shown from the statistics. There are 56,564 sites linked with CNTV. Many International platforms like YouTube, IMDb and "bbc.co.uk" have inbound links to CNTV. The high reputation of CNTV shows its potential to be a significant global media.

## 1.1 CNTV as State-owned Media

CNTV is the online broadcaster launched by *CCTV*. In 2011, CNTV became the latter's official website. *CNTV English* selects most of its news from *CCTV-NEWS* while *CNTV Chinese* selects from other *CCTV* Chinese channels. In order to study *CNTV English*'s role in global communication, it is essential to consider its status as state-owned media has implication on its operation. As *CNTV English* is affiliated to *CCTV* in theory and in practice, some background knowledge on the relationship between *CCTV* and the Chinese government shall help us to understand in what kind of environment can help the *CNTV English* conducts its everyday practice

*CCTV* is a statutory agency within SARFT, which should report to the State Council. *CCTV* is at the center of the state-owned and state-controlled broadcasting system. The Chinese Communist Party's (CPC) decisions shape the directions and principles of *CCTV*. Speeches, written comments and internal documents of the Party leaders and Ministry for the Central Propaganda decisively decide the future of the TV sector (Yan, 1998; Qian, 2002, Chin, 2007) Moreover, since *CCTV* is one of the most significant agencies; it also has to report to the CPC Central Publicity Department (CPD)[2] (Ho, 2011, p. 180). The decisions from the party are even more senior in rank than those from the government.

The relaxation of political control that took place in 1978 has led the reform within *CCTV*. In mid-1990s, the producer system was implemented for most programs, before the adoption of producer system, television professionals were powerless (Hong, Lu & Zou, 2009, p. 44). The producer system broke the traditional practice by giving the media professionals the power to design programs, control the raising, and oversee production and program management. The new system also gives producers power over staff hiring and firing, financing, and administration. In addition to the producer system, advertising revenue has also become the major financial resource. The state began to reduce and eventually stop its subsidies to the television stations. *CCTV* became the first Chinese television station to rely on advertising revenue. Despite the commercialization of *CCTV*, the CPD has not weakened its censorship

2 Its official name is Publicity Department of Communist Party of China Central Committee, also known as Central Publicity Department, its abbreviation in this study is "CPD".

power over news reporting. The most significant and sensitive political reports are still censored (Zhu & Barry, 2009; Ho, 2011). As an online broadcaster affiliated to *CCTV*, *CNTV English* runs no advertising at all, which means it relies on subsidiaries from the pockets of *CCTV* or the state Treasury. Without its own economic means, *CNTV English* is expected to follow a similar set of regulations and procedures as *CCTV* does if not to a more strict degree.

### 1.11 News coverage from CNTV and CCTV

Although the majority of news and news video clips on *CNTV English* are selected from *CCTV-NEWS*, it does not mean that the news contents on two websites are identical. First, *CNTV English* has its own online news editors, media researchers, and video editors[3]. The online editors are tasked to select the news from *CCTV*, then edit the news videos in a form which is easier to be displayed on a website. They classify the news and write titles for every news link, edit video and story. Moreover, CNTV produces special topic pages for big news events, featuring more in-depth information and analysis. A special page for the international intervention in Libya in 2011 was set up both on *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English*, with sub-sections including "Reactions from Different Countries", "Background Information", "No-fly Zone", "Three possible futures of Gaddafi." In other words, CNTV online editors may re-organize the shared news content from *CCTV*, but occasionally they also source from other news agencies to provide in-depth information.

## 1.2 China in the Global Media Flow after 1978

Though *CNTV English* is launched in 2009, what its intended purposes might be needs to be viewed in the wider context of China's situation in the global media flow since the Open and Reform .The introduction of a producer system and media commercialization has enabled Chinese broadcasters to determine what programs to be aired for their audience. At the same time, more imported programs from countries including the United States and Japan were shown (Hong, Lu & Zou, 2009, p. 41). The exchange between Chinese and foreign media has become more frequent after 1978. Moreover, some of the news programs from the state media appear to be modeled after popular Western programs. For instance, *CCTV*'s only investigative

[3] The job openings are updated frequently on the recruitment webpage of *CNTV English*: http://english.*CNTV*.cn/20110114/105140.shtml. Last Accessed 20th November, 2011

news program, *News Probe*, introduced in *CCTV*, imitates CBS's *60 Minutes* in most discernible ways. In the 1990s, CPC even encouraged Chinese TV stations to import "beautiful, good, progressive, civilized and scientific" cultural products (Li, 1995).

Nevertheless, while foreign programs and media products began casting influence in China, in the 1990s, the CPC also stated the improbability of expecting the West to promote China's traditional culture to the world and introduce the new environment of reform and liberalization in China. The party therefore suggested China should "push forward this work through our own" (Li, 1995). The suggestion from the Party came to reality. In the case of *CCTV*, it took thirty years to increase one channel in 1958 to two in 1986, but from 1986 to 2004, the number of channels increased from 2 to 16. *CCTV* also launched satellite channels: *CCTV*-4 in 1992, broadcasting to the world in Chinese and *CCTV*-9, China's first English Channel launched in 2000.

In 2001, a "going out" project was launched by SARFT guided by the Party's instruction to "let China's voice be broadcasted to the world" (Xu, 2001, p. 537). The strategies proposed include "broadcasting the *CCTV*'s two international channels, *CCTV*4 and *CCTV*9, in significant regions", "encouraging central and influential local TV and radio stations to expand overseas and to take part international cooperation", "establishing strong overseas marketing and distribution teams", "improving research on foreign countries' law, regulations and policies, their culture and audiences' tastes, their politics, history, to help with the government's policymaking"(Xu, 2001). While China became the largest and the most influential country, it has yet to advance its external communication by understanding foreign audience's culture, taste and communication strategy.

The 'going out' project showed the CPC's ambition to broadcast China's voice in global communication. China's successful accession to WTO in 2001 has reinforced the government and CPC's ambition to expand China's global influence through media. The 16th CPC Party Congress on 8th November 2002 approved institutional reform of the country's cultural industry which include TV, radio and film, and urged to open up the service sector to the world step by step (Chin, 2007). In 2004, *CCTV* formally re-launched its global 24-hour English channel,

*CCTV*-9 as *CCTV* International (*CCTV*-I)[4]. The re-launch was ordered by Li Changchun who in 2003 had called for the creation of "China's *CNN*." (Jirik, 2010, p. 2) The objective of the channel has also been changed from "the window to China" to "Global sense, Chinese sight, and the window to the world" (He, 2009). *CCTV*-9 doesn't only concentrate on local Chinese affairs but also ambitiously serve as a global news media. The channel is accessible in more than 120 countries via satellite and cable transmissions. Worldwide, *CCTV*-4 is received in 10 million households and *CCTV*-9 is in more than 40 million households (Hong, Lu & Zhou, 2009, p. 47). The numbers and the scale of state-owned media using English or multiple languages to deliver news have been expanding even faster in the 21st Century. Apart from *CCTV*, an English newspaper, *Global Times*, was established in 2009 as another official-state newspaper in English than *China Daily*. In 2010, a 24-hour global English-language news channel named *CNC World* was launched by *Xinhua* news agency and its private investors. The mission of the channel was to provide comprehensive coverage of world affairs, while explaining matters of direct concern to the Chinese leadership in a perspective its producers consider appropriate, and to present an international vision with a Chinese perspective (Barboza, 2010). *CNTV, Global Times* and *CNC World* were launched between 2009 and 2010. Sharing similar purpose, these developments have shown the Chinese state media's ambition to take a more active role in the global media flows.

## 1.21 External propaganda and soft power

Promoting a positive image of a nation to the people in other countries has become increasingly important in modern diplomacy. A country's Soft Power, as conceived by Joseph Nye (2008), rests primarily on three resources: its culture, its political values and its foreign policies. The ability to achieve desired outcomes in international affairs is through attraction rather than coercion. Instead of using military or economic weapons, agenda setting and attraction are more effective in world politics (Nye: 2008, p. 334). For example, when Charlotte Beers became the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy in the U.S. Department of State, in 2001, she was immediately put in charge of a campaign to change 'hearts and minds' globally, to rebrand the U.S. and to communicate the state more effectively around the world (Price, 2010, p. 345).

4 Though *CCTV*-9 was re-launched as *CCTV* International in 2004, its name as *CCTV*-9 was not changed until April 2010.

It is evidential that China was influenced by the concept of "Soft Power" and its implications. Thussu (2006, p. 223) suggests that the expansion of the English-language network of *CCTV* reflected how the Beijing authorities recognized of the importance of the English-language as the key to success for global commerce and communication and a way to bring Chinese public diplomacy to a global audience. As Wang (2008) suggests, the aggressive expansion of Chinese state media during the first decade of twenty-first Century reflects its plan to expand China's soft power and public diplomacy.

In 2010, China overtook Japan as the world's second-largest economy. Despite its rapid economic growth, China is still seen as a non-modernized or less civilized society, judging of the international criticism it has received for stagnation in political reform and its human rights infringements and a lacking of freedom of expression. China sees that face lifting of its means of international communication and developments of its soft power could be promising solutions to the task of changing the negative perception of China. In the first decade of twenty-first century, state media agencies in China have been expanding aggressively by reaching out to international audience aided by technologies and offering more attractive contents in more languages. *CNTV* as the first licensed Internet TV represents an important step in this endeavor. According to Huang, *CNTV* was also part of this official campaign to harness the soft power of the country to match its rising economic clout (South China Morning Post, 30th Dec 2009). Chinese state media agencies have been always seen as the mouthpiece of the party. Is *CNTV English* possible to be an influential global news player and a mouthpiece of a state at the same time? *CNTV English* has to face this challenge and it is interesting to see how it balances its roles as a global news player and an agency serving the CPC.

## 1.22 The competition of CNTV locally and globally

CNTV is a late comer in the Chinese web TV market. By 2011, the number of Internet users in the world has reached 2.26 billion (Internet Growth Statistics). With the biggest Internet users' population in the world, by 2010, the number of Internet users in China reached 420 million (*CNN*IC, 2010). Because of web TV's great potential, the competition for market share is becoming tougher; both locally and globally as more local private players have entered the Web TV market for the past several years. For example, the leading P2P streaming video network *PPLive*, a non-state owned company launched in 2004, had 100 million users home and abroad by 2008. Apart from *PPLive*, another streaming video network called *PPStream* has

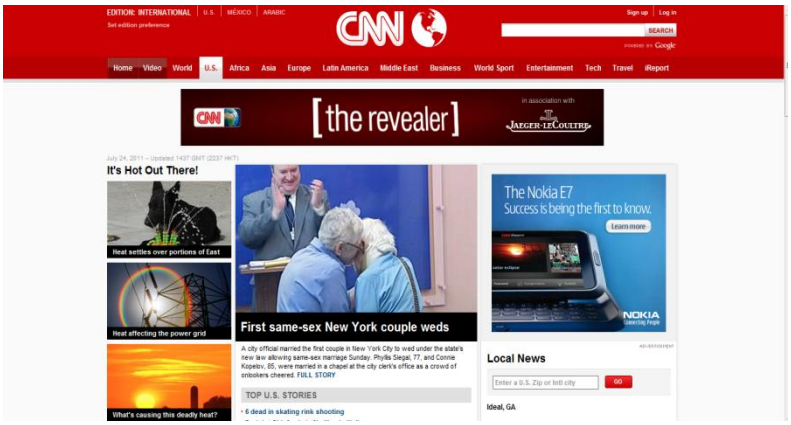
also become a major private player in the market. Various types of program including news, TV dramas, and movies were made available for their audience. For news program, PPTV collaborated with more than 50 TV channels including *Phoenix TV* and *CCTV* in order to show various TV news programs legally. *PPTV* and *PPStream* classify TV news into various groups to meet different people's needs (Xie & Huang, 2010). However, unlike *CNTV*, these private webcasters do not have offline presence and self-produced programs. At the same time, regulation for web TV has become stricter than before. In 2008, Web TV in China was required to obtain a license from the SARFT in order to continue their broadcasting (Xie & Huang, 2010). Some Web players like *BTChina* and *VeryCD* were shut down by SARFT following the regulation.

*CNTV* faces even stronger competition in providing online news and news content. In China, apart from PPLive and PPstream, other major players include the online edition of other Chinese state media like *Xinhua*, CNC world and also those from private media sectors like Phoenix TV's website. Globally, competitors with similar scale as *CNTV* include the online edition of *CNN*. The initial success of *CNN* resulted in the "*CNN*ization" of international news and inspired the launch of other news satellite channels like Sky News, *BBC* and ITV (Thussu, 2007, p. 69). The emergence of *CNN* as a major influential satellite news network produced a new communication approach to international relations known as "CNN effect". These global transnational channels localized its feeds, introduced local and regional language news slots and developed an international network of regional and local channels (Figenschou, 2010).

## 1.3 CNTV English in Contrast to CNTV Chinese and CNN.com

Nowadays, the Internet is considered the main source of news in most countries. A research by the Pew Research Center for the People & the press (2010) showed the Internet was slowly closing in on television as Americans' main source of national and international news. In 2010, 48% indicated the Internet is their main source – up 16 points from 2007 – and 63% cite television – down eight points. . Launched in 1995, the main website of *CNN* has now become one of the most successful online news websites in the world. According to the statistics from Alexa accessed on 14 July 2011, *CNN.com* attained 52 in the global rank. Different language editions could also be found on *CNN.com*, including the U.S., International, Mexico and Arabic editions. There are also Japanese, Korean and Turkish language editions online. The content of news is localized in order to meet the demands from different region.

These localization and domestication processes cause the global media to reflect and speak to "particular national discourses with little regard to each other" (El-Nawawy & Power 2008, p. 14). However, design-wise, those editions are consistent, using the same layout, the same red banner with *CNN*'s logo on top and the same color scheme throughout the websites (See Screenshot 1 & Screenshot 2).



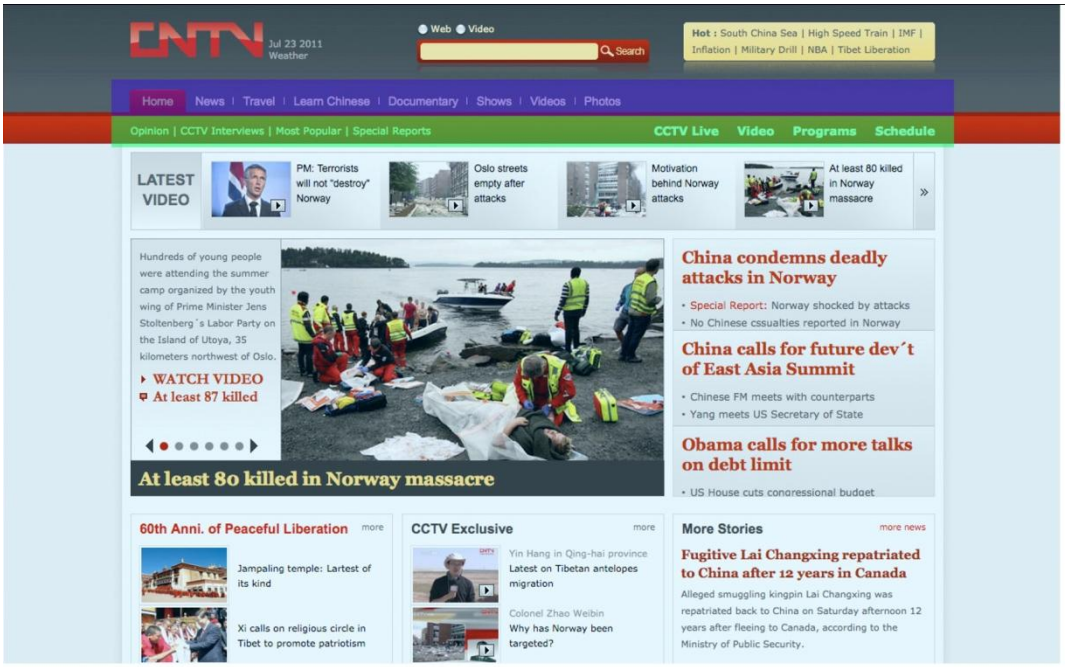

**Screenshot 1, *CNN.com* International Edition (24th July, 2011)**

**Screenshot 2, *CNN.com* Arabic Edition (24th July, 2011)**

For multi-language online news websites in China is not the same, this kind of consistency hardly exists. For instance, the design of the Chinese edition of *Xinhua* news agency's website seems to present an appearance very different from the English edition. The overriding color of the Chinese website is mainly white while the one used by its English edition is blue. There might be some reason to it. Many scholars have argued that national cultures appear to influence the perceptions of Internet users for website design and content (Zhao, Massey, Murphy & Fang, 2003). It is possible that the websites are designed for

different users with the designers bearing cultural differences in their minds. This research finds that *CNTV* also employs various designs in its multi-linguistic editions.

Comparing the *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese*, one can find that the colors, headers, layout, and functions used in the two editions are far from being consistent. The differences implied the functions and target audiences of *CNTV English* should be different from *CNTV Chinese*. *CNTV English* has a grey black header while the Chinese edition does not have a header. Red and black are the main colors on *CNTV English* while blue is the main color on the Chinese edition. Besides, on the top of *CNTV Chinese*, a marquee displaying latest news can be found while *CNTV English* only displayed the news with a constant bar. More pictures could be found on the homepage in *CNTV English* than *CNTV Chinese*.




**Screenshot 3, the main page for *CNTV English*'s news. The blue area is the top navigation menu; the green area is the sub menu of the item, News. Content displayed on a screen with 1280 x 1024 resolutions without scrolling down (25th July, 2011)**

**Screenshot 4, the main page for *CNTV Chinese*'s news. The pink area is the website navigation menu; the green area is the marquee displaying the latest top stories. Content displayed on a screen with 1280 x 1024 resolutions without scrolling down (25th July, 2011)**

Looking at the structure of two websites, one can find that *CNTV English* has only eight items on its horizontal navigation menu including Home, News, Travel and Documentary. Each item pairs with a second-level menu, when one hovers on the item "News", seven items like China, World, Business will be shown (See Screenshot 3). In contrast, *CNTV Chinese* has fifty-one items on its top navigations menu linking to different news categories like Local, Sports, Regions, Commentaries, but none of the items pairs with a second-level menu (See Screenshot 4).

In comparison to *CNTV Chinese*, the design of *CNTV English* follows more rules of the dominant reading pattern, "F-Shaped pattern". In a study by Nielsen (2006), an eye-tracking test discovers that users usually read web page in "F-shaped pattern". They first read in a horizontal movement, usually across the upper part of the content area. This initial element forms the F's top bar. Then, users move down a bit and read across in a second horizontal movement that typically covers a shorter area than the previous movement. This additional element forms the F's lower bar. Finally, users scan the content's left side in a vertical movement (See Graphic 2). Content below the bottom sidebar is often dismissed and usually is

only scanned briefly. The top, upper left corner and left sides of the screen most important and the right side of the screen is usually neglected.

**Graphic 2, this heat-map shows the abstract F shape that user's general gravitates towards. Hot spots (red, orange, yellow) represent where user's attention lingers the longest.**
**(Jones, 2010, http, p. //webdesign.tutsplus.com)**

On *CNTV English*, the news headlines and photos that can be seen above the sidebar on a 1280 x 1024 resolution screen are more than those on *CNTV Chinese* (See Screenshot 3 & Screenshot 4). *CNTV Chinese* uses most of the space for the navigation on the top, instead of posting more news. Obviously it does not follow the rule of F-shaped pattern that is utilized in *CNTV English*. *CNTV English* brings more contents to the eye of the viewer at one glance.

While *CNTV English* looks different from *CNTV Chinese*, it resembles to the international edition of *CNN.com* in many ways. Both of them have a colored header on top and use more pictures than texts. Overall, both *CNN.com* and *CNTV English* have a carefully designed layout. As *CNTV English* targets a Western audience, its resemblance to *CNN.com* might help *CNTV* to establish its role as global media (See Screenshot 1 & Screenshot 3). As previously mentioned, users from different cultures might have different habits while using the website. As some scholars indicate, Americans are usually more monochronic while Chinese are more polychronic. Monochronics typically place importance on keeping to schedules, on not wasting time; polychronics typically do not show such an acute sense of the passage of time (Zhao, Massey, Murphy & Fang, 2003, p. 79). In other words, polychronics could be attracted to floating banners, marquee, winks, but monochronics could find it disorienting. Cyr (2008) suggested that collectivist cultures such as China have a stronger preference for visuals,

whereas users from more individualistic cultures prefer a logical and structured page layout. Cyr's statement can explain the differences between *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English*. In the Chinese edition, a marquee floats all the time displaying the latest news; the website is less structured and displays more navigation buttons. *CNTV English*, on the contrary, has a still bar displaying the latest news, which leads to a much cleaner layout.

Both CNTV Chinese and CNTV English provide the comment functions. User can create an account and leave comments for the news videos or articles. However, to localize contents and design for different target audience, *CNTV English* includes different social media plug-ins from *CNTV Chinese* on its website. Users can send the news to those global social media like Facebook, Google, MySpace and Twitter on *CNTV English*. As the service of Twitter, Google and Facebook are unavailable inside Mainland China, featuring those social media plug-ins implies that *CNTV English* sees foreigners as their main audiences. *CNTV Chinese* users on the other hand, are able to share the news on Chinese social media with plug-ins linking to the likes of renren.com and QQ space, the dominant SNS sites within the Great Fire Wall.

## 1.4 Research Questions

The comparison above showed that *CNTV English* is designed to cater to an audience different from that of *CNTV Chinese*. *CNTV English* is eager to take an important role in the global media flows. To investigate *CNTV English*'s role and purposes in global communication, I argue that it is effective to examine how *CNTV English* functions in everyday practice, in differentiating it from its domestic edition of *CNTV* and from the perceived mainstream Western broadcaster like *CNN.com*. The following research questions (RQ) will be answered.

*RQ1. What are the editorial system and target audience of CNTV English in contrast to CNTV Chinese?*

The first question is a fundamental one as the answer to it can help to further study what the intended purposes of *CNTV English* are. Knowledge on editorial system and target audience are cornerstones on which the differences of two websites can then be analyzed. The answers to this question illuminate the significant factors influencing the news output of *CNTV English*.

*RQ2. How does CNTV English frame news in contrast to CNTV Chinese? How do they differ from each other?*

In order to explore how *CNTV English*'s editorial guidelines are manifested in its daily news coverage, it is vital to conduct framing analysis on the website's news content. Websites like *CNTV* enable the audience to browse the content in different languages. Unlike terrestrial television and newspapers, there is no geographic boundary to viewing *CNTV*. Hence, it is also possible for me to compare the news frames of two news websites so as to further study how *CNTV English* balances its roles as a state-controlled media and a global media.

*RQ3. How do the findings from RQ1 affect the frame-building on CNTV Chinese and CNTV English?*

This question relates the findings from the second question to the websites' editorial systems and target audiences. It will show how the actual news content of *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese* responses to their intended purposes. A more complete picture of *CNTV English* can then be illustrated

*RQ4. How does CNTV English frame news in contrast to CNN.com?*

In order to investigate *CNTV English*'s role as (perceived) contra-flow, it is vital to compare its news frames with those from the global mainstream media like *CNN.com*. According to the typology of media flows drawn by Thussu (2007), contra-flows are flows of media products from the South which are against the historical dominance of Western media flow. The answers of this question will demonstrate whether the news frames on *CNTV English* reverse or counter to those on *CNN.com*. This question also enables me to further examine *CNTV*'s intended purpose of bringing significant impact to the world.

Finally, the most crucial question to be asked in this study would be:

*RQ5. What are the intended purposes of CNTV English in global communication? Does it fulfill its aims?*

By studying the intended purposes and the impact of *CNTV English* in global communication, its role in the global media flows will be illustrated and discussed.

## 1.5 Outline of the study

The research subject of this thesis is *CNTV English*. As *CNTV English* has been launched for only 30 months, there was not much literature and studies focused on it but its background and the uniqueness of its mission make this news portal an interesting study. In order to understand how *CNTV English* presents different ideologies and views to the foreign audience in contrast to *CNTV Chinese*, this study selects the news section of *CNTV* as its main focus. The reason is that news is of vital importance to the website. While the *CNTV Chinese* features rich content and diverse functions, the *CNTV English* hosts almost nothing but the news. In addition to the comparison of *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English*, this study has compared *CNTV English* with the global news giant *CNN.com*. By examining differences between them, a more comprehensive view of the role of *CNTV English* in the global media flows is gained.

I begin this paper with an introduction consisting of the overview and main themes of the thesis. Chapter 1 clarifies the research area and outlines the significance of the study. The background information and facts about *CNTV*, *CCTV* and the development of online news and international communication in China are introduced. Research questions are also stated.

Chapter 2 is a review on existing theories and literature in global media flow and contra-flow and news framing. The phenomenon of CNN effect is also explained as part of the context for *CNTV English*'s development. Chapter 3 introduces the methodologies like framing analysis and interview used in the study. The methodologies mentioned in Chapter 3 help to conduct the comparisons.

In Chapter 4, the related editorial instructions and directives are first discussed so as to realize how the editorial policy influenced the frame-building of *CNTV English*. Afterwards, I start comparing how *CNTV English* framed the news events, the International Intervention in Libya and Yueyue's incident respectively, in contrast to *CNTV Chinese*.

Chapter 5 focuses on the differences between *CNTV English* and *CNN.com*. I start with an introduction of the characteristics of *CNN*. This helps to understand the differences between two news websites. Afterwards, I start comparing how *CNN.com and CNTV English* framed the

two news events, the international Intervention in Libya and Yueyue's incident. Finally, Chapter 6 deals with the overall discussion on the major findings of the research and an echo on the research questions.

# Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

This chapter provides the theoretical framework to help to analyze and elaborate this study. The general framework for this study draws mainly from the idea of global media flows, especially the typology of dominant flows and contra-flows (See Thussu, 2006). The theory emphasizes the imbalance of media flows in global media landscape and provides a useful perspective to understand the role of *CNTV English* in global communication. The news framing theory is also elaborated in order to give this study a valuable insight about news frames and target audience. Moreover, this theory offers a systematic method in comparing the *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese*, and that of *CNN.com* and *CNTV*. In the end, the theory of CNN effect would be introduced for supporting the comparison between *CNN.com* and *CNTV*.

## 2.1 The Typology of Media Flows

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the aim of setting up *CNTV* is to build an influential and informational interactive platform to the global audience and bring significant impact to the world (Gu, 2009). As the aftermath of China's successful accession to the WTO in 2001, Chinese state media outlets have expanded rapidly. The ambitions of the CPC to broadcast China's voice to the world were also shown from the "going out" project, the expansion of *CCTV*, the launch of *Global Times*, *CNC Worl*d and *CNTV*.

Why is it so important for the Chinese media to report the news to a global audience? To understand the role of *CNTV English*, it is important to take a look into the context of the international media flows before the empirical investigation. Since the uneven global media flows can help to explain the aims of *CNTV English* and the differences between *CNTV English* and its Chinese edition, a brief history of the news flows debate, a review the related academic literature, and explanations of the concepts of dominant flows and contra- flows are introduced. The media flows within the context of new media and the Internet are also discussed.

### 2.11 One-Way news flow after WWII

According to Boyd-Barrett & Thussu (1992), "Concerns about the uneven international news flows can be traced back a hundred years ago when the major international news agencies

like Reuters of Britain or Wolff of Germany controlled the international news and operated the news cartel" (p. 1). The concept of free flows of information was formulated in the USA at the end of the Second World War. Carlsson (2005) suggests that people everywhere were tired of the propaganda and censorship that were part of the war effort and welcomed the thought of free flows. This idea then spread over the world. It was particularly important to win support for the concept in the United Nations and especially its specialized agency, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

However, starting in the late 1960s, critics argued that the free flow doctrine served the most powerful nations by helping them achieve economic and cultural domination over the less powerful ones (Figenschou, 2010, p. 21). Information is seen as one of the most important instruments of domination, a currency of power. The Western media is able to give the world an exploitative and distorted view of the South through control and manipulation of major international information channels (Boyd-Barrett & Thussu, 1992; Clarsson, 2005). The South's complaints and the demands for a new world information and communication order (NWICO) were raised in UNESCO. The call for a NWICO had its roots in the historical changes in global power that were reflected in three dimensions of the developing world's protest against the Western domination of the international system: the political dimension, the economic dimension and the cultural dimension (Boyd-Barret & Thussu, 1992; Clarsson, 2005; Figenschou, 2010).

In 1977, the international commission for the study of communication problems then was established by UNESCO. The final report, MacBride Report was published in 1980. The report gave intellectual justification for evolving a new global communication order. It concluded that international communication was a one-way flow and stated that information flows had to be two-way so as to be truly free. It also recommended a change from vertical (North-South) to horizontal (South-South) is necessary.

## 2.12 Media Imperialism and Situation in China

The concept of media imperialism is essential in understanding the one-way dominant flows. It is in part premised on the necessity to understand the nature of the relationship between national economies and the global capitalist economy, and the role of culture and media in helping to sustain and reinvigorate that relationship (Boyd-Barrett, 1998, p. 151). The

model of media imperialism that is suggested by H. Schiller (1976) claims that international information flows reinforced one-way dependency between developed and developing countries. While "the concept of media imperialism was developed within a broader analysis of cultural imperialism and dependency" (Boyd-Barrett, 1998, p. 139), and "the cultural imperialism theory provided one of the major conceptual thrusts behind the NWICO movement" (Figenschou, 2010, p. 22), the definition of cultural imperialism indicates the core consequence of the one-way flows: "The sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system" (Schiller, 1976).

Historically, China's media industry has been among the most protected and controlled, that's why the significant influences of an uneven global information flows in China is in doubt. The country's political system prevented foreign media products from freely entering the Chinese market. The definitions of cultural and media imperialism can possibly explain why the Chinese government has to control the inflows of foreign media product. One major reason is that the Chinese government and state-owned media have some apprehensions similar to that of Schiller's. Instead of "the dominant stratum", the worry directs to the society, which might shape institutions and trends that corresponds to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system.

In order to prevent the media from promoting ideology that is favorable to the dominant center like the U.S., it is significant for the Chinese government to strictly control the media in China. A catalogue for the Guidance of Foreign Investment Industries (Catalogue) issued by the state forms the policy basis for approving the establishment of foreign invested projects and business. It covered a few hundred industry sectors. The catalogue was revised in 1997 and 2002. Comparing the media-related regulations in the catalogue issued in 1995, 1997 and 2002, Lin (2004) discovered that regulations of the media sector are getting more detailed and stricter. According to the new Catalogue revised months after China's WTO accession in 2002, media businesses like publishing, distributing, importing audiovisual product, news service, radio station, TV station, film production and distribution companies are prohibited for foreign investments. The Chinese government is anxious about the excessive flow of one-way informational flows into the country. The amount of foreign television programs, animations, films shown on television and cinema are also restricted. The Chinese government censors

foreign media products so as to prevent unwanted information and values from spreading over the country.

The observation of the one-way flows is somehow not perfectly applicable inside China as the dominant news flows in China is the Chinese news media, particularly the state-owned media. Nevertheless, the one-way flows theory perfectly indicated the extremely rare media flows from China in global communication. Media flows have a close relationship with economic power, and in the past China did not have the power to go against the unequal media flows in the world.

Nowadays, despite the strict control, foreign media products like TV dramas, films, video games continue to be increasingly popular in China. According to the reports published by the National Bureau of Statistics of China in 2007, the total value of the imported TV program was around 50 million U.S. dollars, while the total value of the exported program was only 20 million U.S. dollars. In 2006, China first achieved 16 million U.S. dollars net export from films and audiovisual products. The values of export increased from 41 million U.S. dollars to 134 million in 2005. However, the values of import diminished from 176 million in 2004 to 121 million in 2006 (Zhang, 2009, p. 28). This might be attributed to the government's strict control for media products but this does not reduce Chinese audiences' demand for global media products. The statistics does not include onine piracy foreign films and pirated Digital Video Discs (DVD) which can be bought everywhere in China. Piracy trade in China is extremely common; it can be partly seen as a by-product of the film import regulation and distribution system (Wang & Zhu, 2003, p. 102).

The statistics mentioned above again show the reasons why China hesitates to let the local media market fully join the world media system and why it was important for China to launch the "going out project." Inside China, the informational flows are not free and mainly come from the authority and state-owned media. However, it should be noted that while threats of competition with foreign media companies are getting more severe, the non state-owned media agencies also put pressure on the state-owned company. In 2011, Chinese local television, Hunan Satellite, announced that the popular talent shows *Super Girl* would not be broadcasted in the following year. Li, the spokesman of Hunan TV stated that the real reason of the decision is "about clamping down on the uppity provincial station — making sure they don't have a runaway hit that puts *CCTV* to shame. I think *CCTV* is very wary when any provincial station

has a breakaway hit and SARFT and *CCTV* are very close" (The Guardian, 18th September, 2011).Strictly controlling the informational flows in China and remaining the state-owned media companies' privilege and popularity became significant tasks for the Chinese government.

## 2.13 Today: dominant flows or contra-flows?

Schiller's model of media imperialism is criticized for its limitations of time and space. While one-way flows and media imperialism may not be able to explain the whole picture of informational flows in China, the global media landscape in the first decade of the twenty-first century represents a complex terrain of multi-vocal, multimedia and multi-directional flows (Thussu, 2006, p. 222). As mentioned, media flow is closely correlated with economic power. In the 1950s and 1960s, the world economy was dominated by the U.S. and Western Europe. However, according to a 2010 report from Goldman Sachs, China might surpass the U.S. in equity market capitalization terms by 2030, making it the single largest equity market in the world. Brazil, Russia, India and China, the so called BRIC economies may account for 41% of the world's market capitalization (Goldman Sachs, Global Economics Paper No: 204). It shows that China would be eager to play a significant role in the global media flows.

To explain the contemporary situation, Thussu (2006) draws out a typology of media flows. He divides the media flows into three categories: the global media (dominant flows), the transnational media (contra or subaltern-flows) and the geo-cultural media (contra or subaltern-flows). The dominant flow is defined as the flow largely emanating from the global North with the United States as its core, such as *CNN* and Discovery Channel. In its most immediate referent, the term "contra-flows" is used to refer to that an information flow originating from the erstwhile peripheries of global media industries (Thussu, 2006) and bringing third world countries' perspectives into the broader international arena (Padovani, 2008). Boyd-Barret and Thussu (1992) states, "Contra-flows are flows of media products that counter a historical dominance of the western media flows, from the less economically and politically powerful to the powerful, from the South to the North, or as horizontal South-South flows" (as cited in Figenschou, 2009, p. 31). These media flows come from those with less political and economic power to those more power--a flow from the South to the North. This includes the "transnational and geo-cultural media". Transnational media can be private or state-sponsored. They can be transnational or regional, such as Al-Jazeera English and *CCTV*-9

(Thussu, 2006). Geo-cultural media on the other hand was set up for specific cultural-linguistic audiences which may be scattered around the world. The Chinese television channel Phoenix and the pan-Arabic entertainment network MBC are some examples of geo-cultural media. The emerging transnational and geo-cultural networks both represent contra-flows and may operate in both dimensions.

Thussu (2006) suggests that the example of subaltern and geo-cultural media flows may give a false impression that the world communication has become more diverse and democratic. In fact, the global impact of most of the non-Western media outlets is still restricted to geo-cultural markets or to small pockets of regional transnational consumers. In addition, the 'dominant flows' are getting stronger by providing different audiences with the localization of media content. As America expands and deepens its hegemony, a hybridized and localized media product can provide a more acceptable face of globalization and therefore effectively legitimize the ideological imperatives of free-market capitalism (Thussu, 2006, p.235).

Though Thussu categorizes media organizations like *CCTV*-9 as "contra-flows", he also suggests that question like "how contra is contra and against whom" is important to investigate a contra-flow. The impact on the hegemony of global media cultures should also be considered. Within the context of global media flows, *CNTV English* as the official website of *CCTV*-9 might be seen as contra-flows that provide an alternative choice for the global audience, but how contra is *CNTV English* if it is really concluded as contra-flows?

## 2.14 Online news and media flows

Does the widespread use of internet democratize the news flows in our world? Although major media agencies still play a major role in mainstream culture and politics, their interests have already been challenged when people have turned to new media technologies to produce and share their DIY media content and information (Lievrouw, 2011). Alternative information, critique of mainstream news created by individuals and netizens can be found from independent websites ranging from blogs to WikiLeaks. This new mode of news production can be called citizen journalism. Citizen journalism can be seen as a force to talk back to the dominant flows, at the same time, the information created by netizens also helps the mainstream media to provide more comprehensive information.

In China, although online contents are monitored and censored by the authorities, citizen journalism has created alternative information for the audiences. The majority of the Chinese editions of foreign news websites like BBC Chinese are censored in China, but the English editions of foreign news sites like *CNN International* are usually available for netizens in China. Some Chinese audiences translate the English news from foreign news websites and post the content on different local online forums. Furthermore, Chinese audience can reach those censored Chinese news websites by using a "Virtual private network" (VPN). The public may then get alternative information which is underreported or different from those in the Chinese mainstream media. Chinese government is eager to guide the direction of news; a great tension is therefore between state-owned news websites, private news websites and independent bloggers in China.

Nevertheless, some scholars criticize the point of view that online news might encourage free news flows. According to Paterson (2005, p. 145), comparative Internet content research indicates that as web news-providers increase in quantity and scope, the original sources of consequential international news stories are few. Global multimedia information agency like Associated Press and Reuters still dominate Internet news, the only difference is it now in a relatively inconspicuous ways. Paterson and his research teams made comparison between different news from Reuters, Associated Press, *CNN*, BBC and more than 10 major global media players in order to test the "originality" of their news content, the study then found out around half of the news content was origination in the newsrooms of Associated Press and Reuters. In this situation, major global media giants are able to reach more secondary audience, the news content provided by different free news website is in fact a revised version of the content from the few news agencies. The findings from Paterson's study (2005) suggested the Internet did not sufficiently improve the inequalities in the global news flow, but instead, reinforced the phenomenon.

Internet and the development of online news have both positive and negative influence on the global news flows. Overall, it may be difficult to conclude if the Internet reinforced the uneven news flow but it is noted that *CNTV English* enjoys the freedom and convenience of updating news online and reaching all netizens in the World but also suffers from the harsh competition with more independent bloggers and news websites. Certainly, this study is not focus on the Internet's influences on global media flows, but this reflection helps to further understand the situation *CNTV* encountering.

## 2.2 News Framing

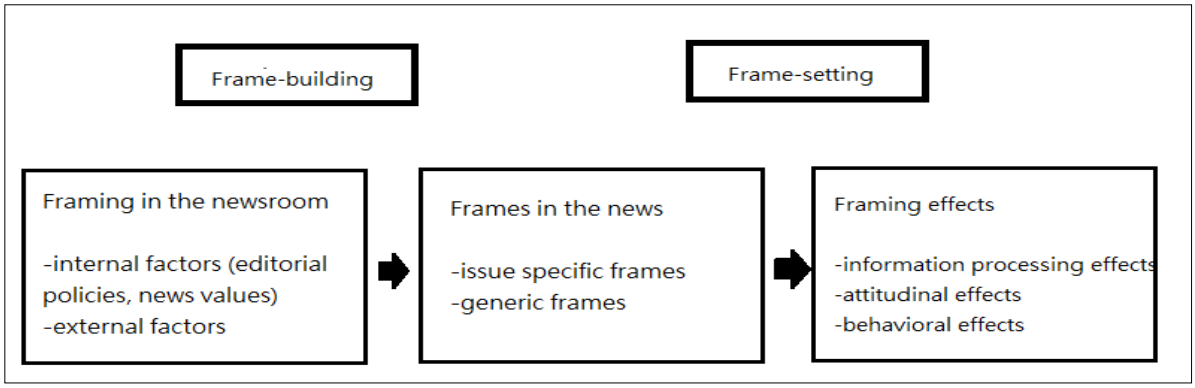
This research shall compare the differences between *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English*, also *CNN.com* and *CNTV* respectively, so as to different agendas and presentations of the same news story. The comparison will be based on the theory of news framing. Indeed, the theory of framing indicates that the manifest or latent meanings can be varied by manipulating the language, visuals, structure of the same news story. The theory not only offers this research a systematic means of collecting data, but also a method to analyze the results.

### 2.21 Framing as a process: frame-building

While presenting a news story, news media can render different ways of narrating as informed by different perspectives, to construct different versions of "reality" and "truth." Framing is a theory to explain this phenomenon. According to Entman (1993, p. 52), "Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." Entman also indicates that locations of frames including the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. Framing is a process that involves frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing (d'Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 2000).

Frame-building refers to factors such as editorial policies, news values and other external factors (See

Graphic 3). The outcomes of the frame-building process are the frames manifest in the text (de Vreese: 2005, p. 52). Although every media outlet has its own editorial policies and guidelines for news values, there are still some general principles provided by some scholars. Galtung and Ruge (1970) has also suggested frequency; threshold; unambiguity; meaningfulness (cultural proximity and relevance); consonance (predictability and demand); unexpectedness (unpredictability and scarcity); actions of the elites and elite nations; personification; and negativity as the dimensions of incidents that made them likely to receive coverage.




**Graphic 3, an integrated process model of framing (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52)**

In other words, frequency indicates that the events happened suddenly and at convenient times are more likely to be reported. An incident has to reach a certain threshold before it became news. The more intense is the event, such as the more people takes part in a protest the bigger the headlines. Unambiguity implies an event which is easier to interpreted and less ambiguity will be reported. Meaningfulness relates to the sense of identification and relevance the audiences had with the event, cultural proximity is a main factor that people who shared similar culture with the audience tends to be received more coverage. Consonance refers to events which fits the audiences' expectation might be reported, consonance may somehow contradict to unexpectedness but it depends on the nature of incidents. Certainly, elite nations and people are probably more likely to be chosen as news, an event could be personalized has more newsworthiness.

## 2.22 Frame-building and target audience

In order to investigate frame-building process of *CNTV English*, *CNTV Chinese* and *CNN.com*; it is essential to emphasize the relationship between frame-building and the target audiences. The concept of "domestication" can help to understand how target audiences influenced frame-building in news. The notion of domestication was brought into news production studies by Gurevitch, Levy and Roeh (1991) in their study of international news. Domestication indicates how journalists produce or frame international news stories according to the historical, cultural and political background of the audiences which they deliver the news (Clausen, 2004). Gurevitch et al. (1991), who base their study on production, audience reception and content analysis, further state that, "in order to be judged newsworthy, an event must be anchored in a narrative framework that is already familiar to and recognizable by

newsmen as well as by audiences" (p. 207). In other words, while the framing theory indicates how the frames "activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way" (Entman 2007), the 'frames' themselves are influenced by the target audience. In Belair-Gagnon's (2011) review on Samuel-Azran's study, *Al-Jazeera and U.S. War Coverage* (2010), Belair-Gagnon comments, "Al-Jazeera has a very specific vision of the world. While it might be true that flows of news are nonetheless less unidirectional from richer to poorer countries as it was suggested in various studies, but rather multidirectional pressures to reformat the content to appeal to audiences tastes and preferences remains a major concern of most news networks" (p. 190). As such, it is essential to consider *CNTV English*'s target audience so as to further study its frame-building as well as its flows in global communication.

## 2.23 Frame-setting and frames in the news

Frame-setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52). Frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of an event. The concept of framing therefore refers to the narrative that encourages those thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them (Entman, 1991, p. 7).

To make "frames" work, Entman (1993) indicates that salience is a very important element. Salience means making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful and memorable to audiences. Salience can make it easier for the receiver to perceive the information, discern the meaning and memorize it (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Apart from repetition and placement of text, salience can also be achieved by associating the message with the culturally familiar symbols. Schemata, stereotypes, categories also connote mentally stored cluster of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information (Graber, 1988). Repetition is perhaps the most significant methods of framing news for *CNTV*, by repeating similar pieces of news on the websites, audiences are easier to memorize and detect the seriousness of the issue.

Moreover, frames are also defined by the omissions of potential problem definition and explanation (Entman, 1993, p. 53). Kahneman and Tversky made an experiment in 1984. They discovered receivers' responses can be reversed if they perceive and process the same information about one interpretation and possess less data about alternatives. Omission is often used by the Chinese media. Sensitive issues like the student movement in 1989 are usually

omitted in news. Selective description can make the perceived consequences, expectation and reasoning completely different. Entman (1993) suggests that frames in the news can be examined and identified by "the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (p.52). Therefore, to study the frames in *CNTV English*, it is possible to measure the news reports by identifying the headlines, sources, and keywords. The methodology will be discussed in next chapter.

## 2.24 News Framing: Texts but also visuals

As an online television portal, *CNTV* contains many images and videos. To identify and examine the news frames comprehensively, visual information should also be considered. The visual impact on television and in newspaper photos may have left a very different impression from the one conveyed in words (Domke, D., Fan, D., Fibison, M., Shah, M. V., Smith, S. S., & Watts, M.D., 1997). Visual framing in news, according to Coleman (2006), can be studied by the colors, images; facial expressions, gestures, body posture of journalists or sources. The meaning conveyed by visual cues such as placement on a page, size of the headline and pictures, length of the story should also be noticed in terms of framing.

To understand how people process visual images, two models may be considered: elaboration likelihood model and schema theory. The elaboration likelihood model indicates that people process messages in two ways: a high-effort central route that requires rational thinking, or the peripheral route that is an automatic type of processing (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). The theory suggests that a photograph could engender peripheral thinking by virtue of activating emotional responses to a story. The highly evocative images will become part of a reader's memory of a story, and it will leave an emotional trace that in time will supplant most of the written or spoken details of the story. This model demonstrates the importance of understanding the visual images as they are a significant elements stimulate the receivers' peripheral thinking. Gibson and Zillmann (2000) find that even when the messages in the visuals were not mentioned in text, viewers' perceptions are still identical to the visuals. The latent and manifest meaning in the images themselves, the framing of photographs, the colors, the typography, size and spatial arrangements should all be studied and considered while analyzing the framing power of the visuals. The camera angles and distance are also valuable

for finding out the frames in news (Berger, 1981). In Chapter 3, the application of the theory of news framing in this study is illustrated.

## 2.3 CNN Effect

Feist (2001, p. 713) defines CNN effect is a theory that compelling television images, such as images of a humanitarian crisis, cause U.S. policymakers to intervene in a situation when such an intervention might otherwise not be in the U.S. national interest. The term "CNN effect" describes the impacts of Cable News Network in the U.S. *CNN* is the first 24-hour television news channel in the world. While Schorr (1998) defines the CNN effect as the way breaking news affects foreign policy decisions. According to Seib (2002, p. 27), "The CNN effects is presumed to illustrate the dynamic tension that exists between real-time television news and policymaking, with the news having the upper hand in terms of influence."

Although CNN effect has become a popular term describing the influence of global news media on world leaders and politics, the exact meaning of the concept is far from clear (Thune, 2009, p. 39). Furthermore, the invention of new media, the internet has also enabled news agencies to report and update their news 24/7. Although *CNN* still represents one of the most prestigious news media, other new global media players has also taken part in influencing the diplomacy and policies. Among these new players, Al-Jazeera became "the most visible player in a huge universe of new communications and information providers that are changing the relationship between those who govern and those who are governed" (Sieb, 2008).

It is believed that the main goal of *CNTV* is similar to that of *CNN* or Al-Jazeera, but the uniqueness of *CNTV* lies in the fact that *CNTV* is controlled by the Chinese government. It is not like *CNN* which may shape the U.S. policy; it is also different from Al-Jazeera which reflected the perspectives of Middle East and North Africa. For *CNTV*, its duties is not only to bring Chinese public diplomacy to the world, to harness the soft power of the country to match its rising economic clout (Huang, 2009) and to redraw the West's understanding of China, but also to guide the public opinion inside or outside China.

Although the influence from *CNN* on world politics may not be as significant as before, the model of *CNN* and its production of news still represent the highest standard within the global news industry. Not only influencing the world politics or dominating the news flows,

*CNN* also brought very big impact to the global media industry, for instance large media agencies try to model after *CNN* nowadays. Therefore, to identify the *CNTV English*'s role within the global news flows, I compare how *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* framed the same news stories respectively.

# Chapter 3 Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodological choices made in the research; explains why certain methods are used and their execution in this study. The main purpose of this study is to discuss the role of *CNTV English* in the global news flows. To do so, it needs to examine the news frames and functions of *CNTV English* by distinguishing it from its Chinese edition, *CNTV Chinese*. It is because *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese* play highly related roles in global communication. Moreover, it is necessary to study the differences between *CNTV English* and the perceived mainstream global media like *CNN* so as to examine *CNTV English*'s role as a contra-flow. Therefore, a comparative perspective is adopted in this study.

In the comparisons, framing analysis is used as a tool of measurement to compare the coverage on different news sites. To verify the findings and gain more insights for the study, an interview with a *CCTV-NEWS* producer has also been conducted. The research uses a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CQDAS) named *NVivo* in conducting the analysis, in order to improve the reliability and make the research more systematic.

## 3.1 A Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research is no longer just simply "not quantitative", but is now intended to approach the world "out there" and to understand, describe and sometimes explain social phenomena (Banks, 2009). As suggested by Berger (2000, p. 12), the term "quality" comes from the Latin word "qualitas", which means "of what kind". The purpose of this study is to find out "what" the role of *CNTV English* is, which can be illuminated by examining the frames in its news coverage, scrutinizing how news events are constructed in relation to their editorial policies, target audiences or other factors. Qualitative approach can therefore enable me to investigate the data in a more reflexive manner. Moreover, as *CNTV* is an online television network, the news on the website contains not only texts, but also voice over from the reporters and anchors. Qualitative approach helps include data from the diverse formats of the representations.

## 3.2 Comparative Perspectives

The research design of this study relies heavily on comparative perspectives. A comparison between *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English* and between *CNTV English* and *CNN.com International edition* are conducted. The news frames within the coverage of *CNTV English* implies the purposes and agenda of *CNTV English* which is significant for investigating its role within global media flows. As David Collier (1993, p. 105) suggests, comparison is a fundamental tool of analysis. It sharpens our power of description and plays a central role in concept-formation by bringing into focus suggestive similarities and contrasts among cases. To explore the differences of *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English*, two news events are selected for analyzing how they framed the same news events differently. It is also crucial to compare *CNTV English* with the international edition of *CNN.com*. As mentioned in Chapter 2, *CNTV English* may be seen as contra-flows which provided an alternative choice for the global audience; to identify the contra-flow, I therefore have to compare it with global media which represents the dominant flow.

The goal of comparative study in this research is to highlight how different *CNTV English* is through examination, thus establishing a framework for interpreting how parallel processes of change are played out in different ways within each context (Skocpol & Somers, 1980). Both *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese*, or *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* are comparable. As the most similar system differs with respect to the dependent variable but not with respect to any of the controlled variables on which they are matched, these matched variables cannot be causally related to the dependent variable (Frendreis, 1983, p. 260). Since *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese*, are both state-owned news websites which belong to *CNTV*, they therefore share some similarities. Hence, the differences detected from the comparative analysis should be related to the dependent variables, such as the different languages and their target audiences, but not the similarities. *CNTV English* and *CNN.com International* also meet the requirement of the similar system, although two online news portals were set up by different news agencies in different countries, they are using English as the language of the websites, targeting similar groups of audience and ambitious to build a global news portal. Therefore, the discrepancies between them are considered with respect to the unmatched variables, such as the origin of the news websites.

## 3.3 Framing Analysis

News framing analysis is used for the comparison of *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese*, and *CNTV English* and the international edition of *CNN.com*. Why are the news frames useful for this study to explore *CNTV English*'s roles in global media flows? As Figenschou (2009) suggests, analyzing contra-flows in the contemporary complex media scene, it is vital to emphasize news output in order to investigate how the (perceived) contra-flows of news are different from mainstream news (p. 67). A framing analysis is able to investigate whether alternative frames are used in *CNTV English*'s news coverage. As global media flows involve the concept of "cultural dominance or dependency" between nations, news framing analysis also effectively reveals how *CNTV English* presented the voice from the South (China). It is then possible to explore how these news frames followed or were against the frames from the global mainstream media like *CNN*.

Moreover, the role of *CNTV English* may be very different from *CNTV Chinese* as it targets a different audience. As a state-owned agency, *CNTV Chinese* can be seen as a dominant flow for Chinese audience inside China while *CNTV English* is an alternative voice to the global audience. As frame-building refers to different factors such as editorial policies, news values and target audience (see Chapter 2), the news frames of *CNTV English* should therefore be different from *CNTV Chinese*. As such, investigating the frames in relation to the editorial policies allows a better study of the characteristics and the role of *CNTV English*.

### 3.31 Tools to define the news frames

When highlighting some aspects of reality over other aspects, frames define problems, diagnose causes, and make moral judgment and suggest remedies (Entman, 1993). The outcomes of the frame-building process are the frames manifest in the text (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52). Hence, it is possible for us to investigate how *CNTV English* presents the same new events, and how it defines the problems and explains them in a different way from *CNTV Chinese* and *CNN.com*.

However, how is it possible for researchers to identify the frames in the reported news events? Cappella and Jamieson (1997) suggest four criteria that a frame must meet. First, a news frame must have identifiable, conceptual and linguistic characteristics. Second, it should

be commonly observed in journalistic practice. Third, it must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames. Fourth, a frame must have representational validity (i.e. be recognized by others) and not be merely a figment of a researcher's imagination. Frames involve selection and salience, and it characterizes the process of the writers choosing what aspect of reality to describe and how to describe it. Frames can also be defined by what they omit, as well as what they include (Mensing, 2001). It is also possible to investigate frames by studying the language in the news; Entman (1991) suggested that "frames can be detected by looking for specific properties within news narratives: keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, visual images, and names given to persons, ideas and action (p. 7). Tankard (2001) suggested a list of 11 framing mechanism or focal points for measuring news frames: (1) headlines; (2) subheads; (3) photos; (4) photo captions; (5) leads; (6) source selection; (7) quotes selection; (8) pull quotes; (9) logos; (10) statistics and charts; and (11) concluding statements and paragraphs (p. 101).

To compare the news frames on *CNTV* and *CNN.com*, I propose to use the focal points suggested by Tankard (2001) and Entman (1991). As *CNTV* and *CNN.com* are news websites, revisions on the focal points have to be made so as to apply to this study. Furthermore, the news reports on the new websites are actually a combination of texts, verbal texts, images and video. Therefore, it is also essential to consider the messages manifested in the images. Similar to the news frame in text, frame in visual can also be identified by considering the selection of the moving images and pictures. Hence, the question "what kinds of actions and settings are selected in the moving images?" is considered. The meanings manifested from the images can then be found. It is also crucial to look at the interplay between audio and visuals in the news videos. Although the messages of audio and visuals are usually identical, sometimes they may also contradict. When the visual and verbal messages contradict, people tend to believe the information conveyed by the visual images rather than the one conveyed by text (Figenschou, 2010, p. 216). In other words, the visualization is able to challenge the verbal messages. Hence, apart from studying the news frame in the texts and images, whether the audio and visuals of the news video are contradictory are observed in order to understand the intended definition and moral judgments framed by the journalists and editors. Having revised the focal points mentioned by Tankard and Entman, the following focal points were adapted for the analysis:

(a) Story Type: The stories are categorized as straight news, feature, commentary and others. Different story types reveal different purposes of the news reports;

(b) Emphasis of the Story: The key messages of the story point out the news frames directly;

(c) Headlines and Subheads: The headlines show the news frame or the editorial decisions;

(d) Quotes selection: The stories may be constructed by statements from different sources. The selections of quotes also help to examine the news frame;

(e) News sources: The sources of the news reporting provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments, identifying if the story was sourced from other news agencies, organizations or institutions is essential;.

(f) Statistics and Charts: The statistics in the news is noticed and compared. To frame, reporters may select different kinds of statistics for the same story;

(g) Keywords: The vocabularies and concepts used frequently in the news reports also reveal the news frame;

(h) Omissions: The omissions of potential problems, definitions and explanations are crucial for examining the news frame;

(i) Wordings and Style: Investigating the language used in the texts, such as the metaphors and comparison used by the reporters, the symbols and verbal irony found in the texts;

(j) Combination of images and texts: Identifying if the messages of the images and the texts are identical or in contradiction;

(k) Selection of Images/moving images: Studying the messages, incidents, actions and settings in the selected videos, investigating the emotions created by the images.

The categories made above are indispensable to identification of news frames in the texts and verbal texts as they transform how the reporters define problems, diagnose causes, and make moral judgment suggest remedies to a set of measurable variables. The criteria defined above offers a structured method to analyze the news frames, and it also helps to keep the study with higher reliability.

## 3.4 Selections of News Events

Two news events, the international intervention in Libya and Yueyue's incident in Foshan are selected for conducting the comparisons between *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English*, and between *CNTV English* and the international edition of *CNN.com*. The former news event is international news while another is Chinese domestic news.

## 3.41 International intervention in Libya

### *Overview*

The Intervention in Libya started from the protests against Muammar Gaddafi's[5] regime from mid-February 2011 in the eastern city of Benghazi. As the movement spread, rebels gained control of the eastern area. The Libyan government used aircraft to attack protesters. On 18th March, UN Security Council approved a no-fly zone over Libya and air strikes to protect civilians. With the help from the Western allies, rebels swarm into Col Gaddafi's fortress compound in Tripoli in August 2011 while the new government, National Transnational Council (NTC) was recognized as the new Libyan authority. On 20th October, Gaddafi was killed. NTC announced Libya to be officially "liberated" three days after Gaddafi's death.

The reason for me to choose this news event is because China held a very different stance from the Western countries for the international military action in Libya. Although UN Security Council approved to set up a no-fly zone in Libya, China was one of the members in the council who abstained from voting. Many western countries including the United States and France have joined the military action to stop the attacks on citizens in Libya and cease fire between Muammar Gaddafi's troops and the rebels. It revealed the discrepant perspectives on the Libyan incident between China and the Western countries.

Was the stance of the Chinese government revealed in the news frames on *CNTV English*? If *CNTV English* is to provide a Chinese voice to the global audience, how did it frame this news event in contrast to *CNTV Chinese* and *CNN.com*? These questions are answered by analyzing the news frames in the news websites.

### *Articles collected and selected*

Because of the long duration of the event in Libya, only the most critical days in the course are selected. Firstly, news stories on 18th March 2011 from the three news websites are collected as the UN Security Council approved to set up the No-fly zone in Libya on that day. Since China has abstained in the voting, studying the news stories on that day is therefore

[5] Some news agencies like CNN spell his name as Moammar Gadhafi, but this study will follow the spelling, Muammar Gaddafi, which is used by CNTV.

valuable to observe how the stance of China was presented in the news. There were fourteen related news links from *CNN.com* International, fifteen links from *CNTV Chinese* and five links from *CNTV English* gathered. However, some of the contents from different links were overlapping, therefore only the most important stories are chosen for analysis. Hence, four links from *CNN.com* International, five links from *CNTV Chinese* and three links from *CNTV English* are selected to conduct the framing analysis. In summary, twelve published links on 18th March from three websites are used for analysis.

Secondly, news stories on 20th March and 21st March were also collected because that the forces from Western countries started to strike targets in areas controlled by Libyan government troops on 19th March, and news stories about the military action were published in abundance in the following two days. Those reports can therefore offer a clear picture of how different news websites defined the problem and made judgments of the military action. During these two days, *CNN.com* International published forty-two links about the event, *CNTV Chinese* had forty-three links and *CNTV English* had twenty-five links. It is essential to focus on the topics like different countries' reactions and the military action's influences on Libyan civilians. Deducting the repeated news stories, fourteen news links from *CNN.com*, seventeen from *CNTV Chinese* and thirteen from *CNTV English* will be investigated. In total, forty-four stories released during these two days are analyzed.

Finally, all the three news websites published a video presenting the biography of Muammar Gaddafi on 20th or no later than 21st October. These three videos are selected for the comparison. As Gaddafi is the key person in the Libyan incident, it is crucial to compare how the news websites framed and evaluated him. Whether to frame Gaddafi in a positive, negative or neutral light reflects direct judgment on the legitimacy of Western force's action in Libya. Though the news websites published other reports on the profile of Gaddafi, the most valuable findings are achieved by comparing the videos. It is because the lengths of the videos and their dates of publishing were similar. These selected materials can help in analyzing and answering the research questions.

## 3.42 Yueyue's incident in China

***Overview***

On 16th October 2011, a Chinese local television showed a disturbing surveillance video of a two-year-old girl, Yueyue, who was ran over by a van while walking in a market in Foshan, Guangdong province in China. What brought total shock and distress to the audience was how eighteen by-passers simply walked along, ignoring the unconscious girl on the side of the road. It was not until seven minutes later that a rag collector, a 58-year-old Chen Xianmei, came to the girl's aid, lifted her from the road, and called for help.

Although this accident was local, in the wake of it the story drew a lot of international concerns. Debate over the conflicts between the callousness of society and moral standards of the "harmonious socialist" state of China can be found in domestic and international press. However, these conflicts are never admitted by the Chinese government as they implied the collapses of the basic beliefs of the CPC. Hence, this new event is significant and valuable for this study.

***Articles collected and selected***

I collected the links about this news event from 17th October to 20th October 2011. There are twelve links found on *CNTV Chinese*, five links on *CNTV English* and seven links on *CNN.com*. Since some of the stories on *CNTV Chinese* are repeated, six news links on the *CNTV Chinese*, five from *CNTV English* and three from *CNN.com* are selected, amounting to seventeen news links that were investigated and categorized in detail. Did the reporters from the two websites present the news story similarly or did they focus on different perspectives regarding their target audiences? Choosing these incidents can offer us a more comprehensive picture about how two news websites framed international news and local news to the public respectively.

## 3.5 Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CQDAS)

To compare the news frames of *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese*; and of *CNN.com* International, a CQDAS, *NVivo* 9, is used in this research. This software is used to categorize

all the materials selected from the two news events mentioned earlier. This software allows researchers to qualitatively code and classifies a large number of texts according to their content, and at the same time to perform a few quantitative analyses, such as words count and distribution of attributes and codes (Valarino & Bernadi, 2010). Hence, using CQDAS also improves the reliability of the research.

*NVivo* allows researchers to import MS office documents, websites links, videos and images to the program. Since the materials for this study are the combination of videos, audios, texts and images, hence it is useful in analyzing the materials in the programs. Codes are identified and then categorized to different nodes. The nodes are created in accordance to the framing focal points like *quotes selections* and *headlines and subheads* suggested earlier. After coding the selected materials, comparison and analysis are conducted. This study produces mainly qualitative results with a few exceptions of quantitative results, derived from for example keywords counting.

## 3.6 Interview

An interview with a producer from *CCTV-NEWS* was conducted at the end to verify the findings and understand the differences between *CNTV Chinese* and English. The interview contributes to the study in identifying the functions, editorial policies and target audience of *CNTV English*. The ways that *CNTV English*'s intended editorial principles are expressed in their news frames can then be further studied. However, as it is not easy to invite staff from the state-owned media in China for interviews, only one producer, Mr. Zheng[6], from the reporting crew in *CCTV-NEWS* was available to answer my questionnaire via email (See Appendix I). As *CNTV English* is the official website of *CCTV-NEWS*, the interview with Zheng is extremely valuable for the significant insights about *CNTV English*'s mission, its target audience, news determinants and its editorial policies. The news frames of the website in relation to these elements are analyzed.

[6] To protect the interviewee's privacy, I have decided not to publish his real name in this study.

# Chapter 4 Comparison of *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English*

Chapter 1 introduces the differences between *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese* in terms of their websites' functions and designs. This chapter deepens the comparison by conducting a comparative framing analysis on news frames identified on the two websites. As previously mentioned, news reporting on the international intervention in Libya and Yueyue's incident were selected for the comparison.

Frame-building refers to factors like editorial policies and news value (de Vreese, 2005). Drawing from this description of frame-building, I will first examine the editorial policy and illustrate the characteristics of CNTV. The related editorial instructions and directives are also discussed in order to find out how the editorial policy influences the frame-building process of CNTV. Then it compares how *CNTV English* framed the news events in contrast to *CNTV Chinese*. It addresses the significant differences resulting from the news framing analysis.

## 4.1 Editorial System and Policy of CNTV

As the operation of Chinese state-owned news media is far from transparent, it is not easy to find out the editorial policy of *CNTV*. However, given that *CNTV* is affiliated to *CCTV*, and *CNTV English* selects its news mainly from *CCTV-NEWS* while *CNTV Chinese* selects from other *CCTV Chinese channels*, it is reasonable to conclude that *CNTV* and *CCTV* share basic editorial policies and guidelines.

According to John Jirik (2008), the editorial structure at *CCTV-NEWS* is a part of the broader editorial system within which *CCTV* is embedded. The president of *CCTV* was in regular contact with SARFT. The system ensures *CCTV* followed the CPC's line in their broadcasts. The four basic principles suggested by Deng Xiaoping were the guiding principles for their broadcasters. These principles include the following biddings: 1) Uphold the socialist road; 2) Uphold the people's democratic dictatorship; 3) Uphold the leadership of the Communist Party; 4) Uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Jirik (2008) quoted a staff in *CCTV-NEWS* saying that only the first principle, "Uphold the socialist road," is taken seriously nowadays in his study (Jirik, 2008, p. 291). It is apparent that this principle is significant in China, although China has been moving closer to capitalism since the 1980s.

The Chinese government, however, doesn't use 'capitalism' to describe the economic system in China, but insists, instead that the system is called 'socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics'. Furthermore, the third principle, 'uphold the leadership of the Communist Party', is vital. One example is that news about the Tiananmen Protests of 1989 was always a taboo subject for Chinese media[7]. If the journalists of *CNTV* insist on these principles, they may restrict the editors' directions in setting the main frames for their news coverage.

However, according to Jirik (2008), "Given that final editorial responsibility for *CCTV-NEWS* lay with the [its] Controller, the Party/State through its agents in the Central Publicity Department and SARFT only intervened in the editorial system when a sensitive story broke between editorial meetings" (p. 279). My interviewee, Zheng, a producer from *CCTV-NEWS*, gives an account that is in line with the above statement. According to Zheng, "reporters have high degree of autonomy in handling news topics." Moreover, when an editor has some ideas for a news story, he only "has to report to their group leaders, then to compete with other ideas of news stories in the channel's editorial meetings. Production can begin once the idea is agreed upon. For important and complicated topics, such as reporting series, the director of channel shall have a final say. For less important ones, producers of individual programs can sign it off." In other words, the channel allows spontaneous proposals, democratic deliberation and delegation on deciding what makes today's news.

The interview with Zheng reveals that *CCTV-NEWS* and other channels of *CCTV* very likely have dissimilar editorial decisions in their news production. This is because Zheng stated clearly that the editorial decision in *CCTV-NEWS* is influenced by the target audience, "[Our target audience] is all English users in the world, we first take into consideration in what manner our target audience watches television. We communicate with them in the way that they are willing to accept."

On external propaganda, Zheng maintains that external propaganda remains a major function of *CCTV*-News, although it is getting more indistinguishable from internal propaganda as the Chinese media industry became more open. The existing differences are due to the differences between domestic and overseas audiences and their ways of watching TV. Jirik

[7] Online searches related to the 4th June 1989 massacre were temporarily visible on Baidu in March 2012, but the results were censored again since April 2012

(2008) states that external propaganda function is extremely significant that "this function of *CCTV-NEWS* meant that particular attention had to be paid in reporting the domestic and foreign policy story in a manner conducive to promoting the PRC's image abroad." Moreover, Zheng suggested that the most editorial guidelines for *CCTV-NEWS* are "the first guideline is to guarantee that the Chinese voice is heard internationally when reporting important events; second is to follow the editorial habits of international media. In other words, we set European and American mainstream media as learning objectives so as to improve our programs' qualities." We can conclude from these statements that foreign audiences' interest is very valuable for *CNTV English* but not for *CNTV Chinese*. Nevertheless, *CNTV English* cannot only consider the audience's interest, as its mission is also to play the external propaganda function. This could possibly lead *CNTV English* to a vital conflict, one that is between the CPC's system and Western-dictated values.

While *CNTV Chinese* also has to deliver its news stories according to its audience's interest, its situation is more complicated. *CNTV Chinese* not only sources from *CCTV-4* but also from *CCTV-13* and *CCTV-1*. All these channels provide news in Chinese with *CCTV-4* particularly focusing on overseas Chinese. Even so, it may still be concluded that the function of promoting the PRC's image overseas on *CNTV Chinese* was less significant. Unlike *CCTV-News*, *CCTV-4*, *CCTV-1*, *CCTV-13* could be received in most households in China, these channels broadcast their programs in Chinese. Therefore, the major mission for *CNTV Chinese* could be guiding the public opinion in China instead of promoting the PRC's image overseas. Although the Internet has made the news flow in China more free than before, the censorship and firewall still restrict the Chinese audience's choice. It is comparatively easy for the Chinese audience to accept the ideologies and values set by the CPC. The news frames on *CNTV Chinese* which are following the Chinese state department's instruction may then be more explicit than those of *CNTV English*. Moreover, the news coverage about the Chinese social issue might be more in-depth on *CNTV Chinese* than on *CNTV English*, as the target audience for *CNTV Chinese* is the Chinese audience who understand China better. Taking target audiences into account, the functions of external propaganda and guiding the public opinion are extremely crucial to understanding *CNTV English in contrast to CNTV Chinese*.

## 4.11 Editorial Directives and Instructions

Though different *CCTV* channels might be able to report a news story according to their target audiences, Jirik (2008) indicates different directives are sent to *CCTV-NEWS* during his participant observation. These directives might be sent from SARFT or *CPD*. Although they are internal in *CCTV*, it is possible to find some of the directives on the Internet. A website run by University of California Berkeley called *China Digital Times* provides updated and detailed lists of directives on a regular basis. These directives make recommendations to the Chinese media agencies on what position to take in a particular news event, while some of them instructed what should be or should not be reported.

According to my interviewee, Zheng, the only instruction he received when *CCTV-NEWS* reported the international intervention in Libya 2011 was "to report [the voices of] different parties in Libya and the stance of the Chinese government". Nevertheless, some directives related to this news event are found. These directives were not only published on Chinese Digital Times but on different blogs from China. On 25th February 2011, there was an instruction released by *CPD*:

> *While reporting the changing situation in Middle East, media agencies should restrict the use of news sources. The word 'Revolution' must not appear in the news. Demanding democracy and domestic inflation must not be reported as part of the reasons of the protests. The coverage should not associate the political system in Middle East with our country's system. The names of the Chinese leaders should not appear next to the leaders of Egypt, Tunisia and Libya (Chinadigitaltimes.net, 25th February 2011).*

This directive shows that the Chinese government did not want the audience to connect China with the regimes in Middle East. This news event is not only foreign news but also a potentially sensitive topic in China. During calls on the internet for Chinese to have it own "Jasmine Revolution", the Chinese government feared that similar protests would spread to China (Fukuyama, 2011). In order to reiterate the stance point of China clearly, there was another instruction published:

> *State Council Information Office: All websites should state the articles "League of Arab States Condemned the Military Action to Libya', "In the Eyes of Hegemonic Powers There Are Only 'Crimes against Western Interests'" on the striking area of the News and Comments page (China digitaltimes.net, 25th March 2011).*

Although the directive above did not suggest what position the media agencies should take in reporting the news event, it reinforces the stance of China: condemn the Western military action in Libya. When Mohammed Gaddafi, the former leader of Libya, died in October, there was another directive issued by CPD, reminding the reporters not to "stir the incident up":

> *Reporters should not report the death of Gaddafi as important news and also should not stir the incident up…. Do not report the Libyan civilian cheering, instead, one should guide the public opinion to notice the West intervene other country's internal affairs, report the chaos situation in Libya now and also reflect the civilian's hope of a stable society. Highlight Gaddafi's spirit of revolution and anti-America war; do not exaggerate the dictatorship of Gaddafi for 42 years (news.renminbao.com, 22nd October 2011).*

This instruction clearly reflected how the Chinese government wanted to shape public understanding of the death of Gaddafi and its regime. According to Yun (2011), for most foreign policy issues, China's existing foreign policy serves as a directive for media reports. Because the Chinese government did not support the Libyan revolution and the UN resolution, they also wanted the media to focus on the downside of the revolution and Western force's intervention in Libya.

Zheng claimed that he did not receive any directives, a statement I have no way to verify. However, *CCTV*-4's report on protesters in Benghazi on 24th March, 2011 reflects abidance with the directives mentioned above. The report showed a banner with the words "Vive la France" (Long live France). The broadcaster's voice-over called this a Libyan outcry against the

bombing of the city by coalition forces.[8] Anyhow, these directives are valuable for this study. The findings of the framing analysis might also reveal whether the Chinese media received these directives or not.

If both *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese* followed the directives, the basic news frames would already be set, both websites might downplay the importance of the dictatorship of Gaddafi, but did the *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English* then frame their news in the same way? How did *CNTV English* balance its foreign audiences' predilection and the news frames suggested by these directives? The following discussion compares the coverage of the international intervention in Libya and the coverage of the Yueyue's incident. The former event was international news involved Chinese foreign policy, the latter was local news in China, by using these two news events, my study will achieve an integrated picture of the news frames of *CNTV English*.

## 4.2 The News Coverage of the International Intervention in Libya 2011

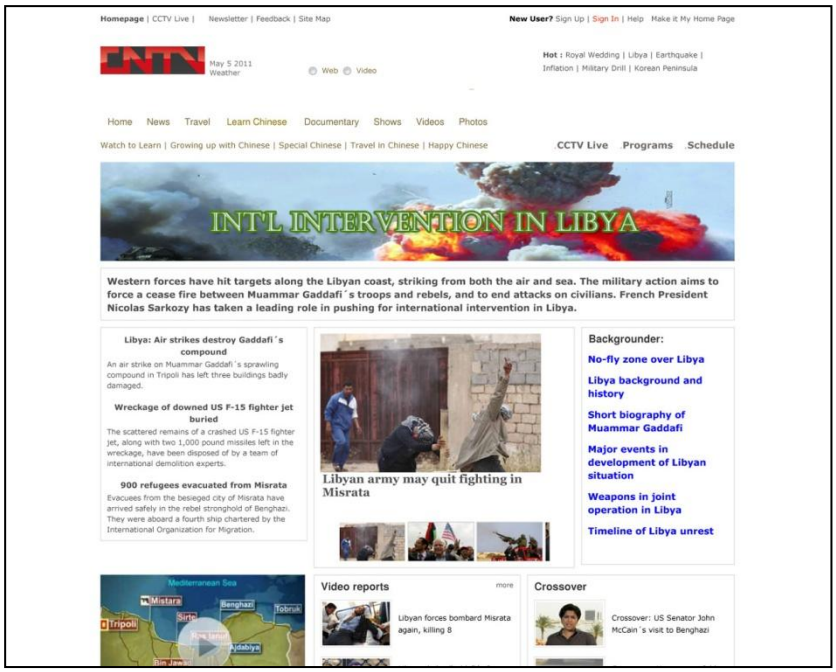
As mentioned in Chapter 3, China held a different stance from the Western countries in the incident of the military intervention in Libya 2011. Chinese government was against the revolution and didn't support the Western military action. It might have something to do with that China accrued significant benefits with their relationship with Libya. In 2009, Chinese projects in Libya totaled 5.84 billion U.S. Dollars, 4.6 percent of a sum abroad engaged projects, which have been value 126.21 billion U.S. Dollars (Zimbio.com, 25th October 2011). Politically, two countries have built a close relationship for a long time. Furthermore, both CPC and Gaddafi's regime are authoritarian regime, any revolution calling for democracy was obvious not welcomed by the Chinese government. How did *CNTV English* frame the news from a Chinese perspective in contrast to *CNTV Chinese*? This section begins with the comparison of the special pages set up for this event on the two editions. The biographical videos of Gaddafi are then compared. Finally, it studies how the votes in the UN Security Council and the initial allied airstrikes on 20th to 21st March 2011 were framed.

8 More discussions about this incident can be found on http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?cid=1101&MainCatID=&id=20110328000107. Accessed: 13th March, 2012

## 4.21 The special topic page on CNTV English and CNTV Chinese

Both *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* set up their topic page for the military intervention that happened in Libya in 2011. The contents of these topic pages are very different. The layouts of the two web pages are compared according to the web-design approach, F-Pattern, mentioned in Chapter 1. In other words, I mainly compare the headers, the upper left, the left side and the middle on the screens based on a 1280 x 1024 resolution screen without scrolling.

The layouts of topic pages set up by two websites were similar. Both of them had a picture and a passage on their headers. The headers and banners on the topic pages usually stay for more than a few months. The screens selected were published on 5th May 2011, while these banners and headers have been used from February 2011 until the death of Gaddafi. Banners and headers are always the most striking area in the F-pattern as they reveal the most important contents that the designers wanted the audiences to pay attention. On *CNTV English*, the banner of the page (See Screenshot 5) was a photo with very much black smoke and fire; it looked like a result of an airstrike, it did not indicate who did the airstrike and where the airstrike took place. There was a passage under the banners saying that, "Western forces have hit targets along the Libyan coast, striking from both the air and sea. The military action aims to force a cease fire between Muammar Gaddafi´s troops and rebels, and to end attacks on civilians…" (*CNTV English*, 5th May 2011).




**Screenshot 5, *CNTV English*'s Topic Page for the Military Intervention in Libya (28th September, 2011; content shown without scrolling down on a screen with 1280 x 1024 resolutions)**

For *CNTV Chinese*, the banner was a Libyan woman shooting to the sky (See Screenshot 6). Although it does not indicate who the woman was, audiences can see that scene again in the video named "Allied Air Strike in Libya: African Union Opposes, Countries in Latin America Censure" showing that the woman was the supporter of Gaddafi and shooting the aircraft of the allied force. The passage did not mention the aim of the Western military action was to stop the attacks on civilians as *CNTV English* did, instead, the passage only said the airstrike was made by the Western forces and that "in the following few hours, France deploys Rafael and Mirage 2000 fighter jets, carried out three more airstrikes again…" (*CNTV Chinese*, 25th May 2011). The headers of these special topic pages already manifest the position that two news websites took. *CNTV English* took a comparatively neutral or less sensational approach; *CNTV Chinese* displayed the Libyan woman shooting to the sky, emphasizing the conflict and the danger to Libyan civilians because of Western force.

**Screenshot 6, *CNTV Chinese*'s Topic Page for the Military Intervention in Libya (28th September, 2011; content shown without scrolling down on a screen with 1280 x 1024 resolutions)**

Along the F-Shape pattern, the left side and the middle of the screens were also important. The approaches of *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English* were similar: *CNTV Chinese* placed the news photos on the left side while the updated news titles on the middles while *CNTV English* placed the photos in the middle while the texts was placed on the left side. All information displayed here could be updated anytime along the development of the news events. Unlike the main pages of the websites compared in Chapter 1, this comparison showed the layout of the special pages set up by *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* were very similar but the content of the headers were completely different.

Most of the stories about Libya were published on these topic web pages. They were either news videos or news articles, though some of the news videos provided text, the contents of the text were only the transcription or summary of the videos. Most of the videos were sourced from *CCTV* while the articles were from Xinhua, but pictures were seldom found accompanying the news articles. Among the selected news reports, 95 % of the news reports from *CNTV Chinese* were sourced from *CCTV*; for *CNTV English*, all the news videos were sourced from *CCTV-NEWS* but the articles were from Xinhua.

## 4.22 Comparison: The biography of Gaddafi

On 20th October and 21st October 2011, *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* published videos narrating the profile of Gaddafi respectively. The title of the video on *CNTV Chinese* is "A Profile of Gaddafi" while the video on the English has a similar title, "Profile of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi." The lengths of both videos are around three minutes. Recall the listed directives from the Chinese state department concerning the incidents in Libya in the previous section. The Chinese media was required to avoid mentioning Gaddafi's dictatorship of forty-two-year. Instead, one should guide the public opinion to notice the West intervene other country's internal affairs. Gaddafi's spirit of revolution and anti-America war should also be highlighted (news.renminbao.com, 22nd October 2011). In general, both videos follow the instruction but some of the differences are shown through my research.

***Emphasis of the videos***

*(a) Policy and system created by Gaddafi*

Both videos on *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* focused on the policies and systems created by Gaddafi. On *CNTV Chinese*, the videos said, "He provoked the green revolution, to improve the women's status in the society and to build a more equal society."; "He claimed that he returned the powers to the people." The video also said Gaddafi had made Libya one of the richest countries in Africa (*CNTV Chinese*, 20th October 2011).

Similar to *CNTV Chinese*, *CNTV English* also presented Gaddafi in a very positive way. The anchor of *CNTV English* even said, "[apart from] building the country's armed forces, he also spent billions of dollars from oil to improve living standards which made him popular than before." While this statement was narrated, the moving image showed many citizens and children were at a scene with Gaddafi. This gave the audience the impression that he was a very popular and a beloved leader in the country (*CNTV English*, 21st October 2011).

*(b) Involvement in terrorist attacks*

As Gaddafi was involved in some international terrorist activities before, both news videos narrated the related terrorist attacks. On *CNTV English*, the reporter said, "Gaddafi's

government was accused by the U.S. being behind an explosion in a Berlin nightclub, frequently visited by U.S. citizens." For the Lockerbie incident, the anchor only said "the West linked Gaddafi to the plane destruction in Lockerbie, Scotland". On *CNTV Chinese* only one terrorist attack was mentioned: Pam Am 103, the Boeing 747 was blown up over Lockerbie, Scotland. The video said more than two-hundred people died and that the only identified criminal so far was a former Libyan spy. In other words, both videos tried to play down the role of Gaddafi and his government.

### *Omissions: the protest against Gaddafi*

Although both videos focused on the contributions of Gaddafi to Libya, in the last part of the clip on *CNTV English*, a protest against Gaddafi was shown for two seconds. The clip could not be found on *CNTV Chinese*. Though the clip was short, it is quite significant because it shows *CNTV English*'s small attempt to make the biography look more balanced.

### *Selection of shots*

Both *CNTV English and CNTV Chinese* spent more than 16 % of the moving images to show how civilians were supporting or cheering for Gaddafi in the videos. Both clips selected similar content in their videos. The shot panned down from a high angle to a big group of people. This kind of shot made the people in the crowd look small. The shots were usually a long shot. In comparison, there are comparatively more close-ups of the supporters of Gaddafi that appeared on *CNTV Chinese*, there was an 8-second-long clip showing a group of citizens standing around Gaddafi, holding a green flag and the pictures of Gaddafi.

### *Summary*

Both *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* focused on the contributions made by Gaddafi in Libya. In the video, Gaddafi was exalted as a popular, benevolent leader. He was always smiling in the videos. Though both videos mentioned the terrorist attacks Gaddafi was involved in, the lengths of the clips were not long. The wordings like "the West linked Gaddafi to a plane destruction in Lockerbie, Scotland" used in the videos on two websites has played down the role of Gaddafi being the person responsible for the deaths in the attacks, Nevertheless, *CNTV English* has mentioned two terrorist attacks while *CNTV Chinese* only mentioned one.

Moreover, the video clips of protests against Gaddafi were shown on *CNTV English* but not the Chinese one.

Both *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese* framed the biography of Gaddafi in accordance to the directives mentioned before. The frame-building process was obviously influenced by the instructions given by *CPD* and other Chinese authorities. My analysis reveals that the major news frames of *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English* are very similar.

## 4.23 Comparison: Coverage of the UN Security Council votes

UN Security Council approved the no-fly zone on 18th March 2011; China was one of the five countries that abstained from the vote. It was important for China to explain their stance to the global audience after most North American and European countries supported the resolution. However, facing different target audiences, the way *CNTV English* told its story is very different from the way *CNTV Chinese* did. To identify the differences, related news links on 18th March are selected for comparison. For *CNTV English*, three articles titled "China Has Serious Difficulty with Part of the Resolution", "China Urges UN to Listen to Arab", "UN Security Okays no-fly zone over Libya" were selected.

For *CNTV Chinese*, five news links were selected, All of them were straight news videos, titled as "China Abstained in No-fly Zone Vote", "Chinese Representatives Explains the Stance of China", "Libyan People Are Disappointed", "Algeria and Syria Do Not Support the No-fly Zone" and 'No fly Zone: a Military Mean."

***Emphasis of the stories***

*(a) The stance of China*

Both *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* covered the Chinese attitudes towards the UN decisions. They both reported how China basically supported the necessary actions to stabilize the situation in Libya but had serious difficulties with parts of the content of the UN resolution. According to both news sites, China thought the UN should solve the problems in peaceful ways instead of through the use of force and that the independence and sovereignty of Libya

should also be respected. Two news sites narrated the stance in a very similar way that was almost likes a translation of the each other.

*(b) Reactions of other countries and Libyan citizens*

Apart from indicating the stance of China, the news reports on both *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* covered other countries' reaction so as to strengthen the perspectives suggested by the Chinese representatives in the UN. However, my research shows that the Chinese sites spent more time covering statements against the resolution made by the Libyan people, Algeria and Syria. A two-minute video titled "Libyan People Are Disappointed" showed a group of Libyan people watching the results of the UN Security Council vote with their facial expressions looking sad and worried. One of the citizens was then interviewed, saying "if they refer the people who holding guns as civilians, then they are just like protecting criminals, protecting people who put others in danger" (*CNTV Chinese*, 18th March 2011).

On *CNTV English*, only the article "China Urges UN to Listen to Arab" was published on 18th March 2011. The article mentioned how UN should consult the Arab countries and let them play an important role for the discussion. It implied that the UN might only consult the Western countries and that was unfair to the Arab and African countries. Evidently, the tone of *CNTV English* is more implicit and indirect in its support for government policies as compared to *CNTV Chinese*.

***Quotes selections***

Most of the quotes published in both *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* were from Chinese officials, such as the Chinese representatives in UN Security Council. For instance, 50% of all selected articles from *CNTV English* were quotes made by them. In addition, *CNTV Chinese* tends to quote more from the Libyan officials and citizens. In the two-minute video "Libyan People Are Disappointed", all quotes were made exclusively Libyan citizens and the Libyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In contrast, there were no quotes from Libyan citizens or Gaddafi's regime on *CNTV English*. Both news websites did not quote from the countries supporting the resolution.

***Summary***

The first part of this Chapter mentioned that for most foreign policy issues, China's existing foreign policy serves as a directive for media reports (Yun, 2011). This statement was reflected by the Libyan coverage on *CNTV*. The major frame in two news websites' coverage is the stance of China and the UN resolution as an approval of the intervention of Libya's sovereignty and territory. However, the analysis above showed that selection of quotes is the most powerful framing tool for *CNTV*. It also differentiated the frames in *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English*. *CNTV English* almost exclusively quoted statements made by the Chinese officials so as to indicate the downside of the resolution. Compared to *CNTV English*, *CNTV Chinese* not only had it explained the stance of China, but had also interviewed the Libyan government and its people so as to prove the inappropriateness of the resolution. Framing refers to the narrative that encourages those thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them (Entman, 1991, p. 7); though both news websites shared a similar frame, I found the frames on *CNTV Chinese* to be more established. In other words, the degree of framing in accordance to the directives from the Chinese state department on *CNTV Chinese* is higher than that on *CNTV English*.

## 4.24 Comparison: Coverage of the Initial of the Allied airstrikes

On 20th and 21st March, the forces from countries like France started to strike targets in areas controlled by Libyan government troops on 19th March, lots of news report about the military action were published within the following two days. Those reports offered a clear picture of how different news websites took position, defined the problem and made judgments of the military action.

On *CNTV English*, thirteen news links were selected and 10 of them were articles while the rest were videos. Of the 10 articles, nine were straight news and one was a defiant letter written by Gaddafi titled "Gaddafi Sends Defiant Letters to World Leaders over UN Resolution." The three videos were titled "Dialogue 11/03/20 International Military Intervention against Libya", "Video: Studio Interview: Will Ordinary Civilians Defend Gaddafi?" and "Video: Gaddafi Says to Arm Civilians to Defend Libya." The first two videos were studio interviews with scholars and experts and the last one was a straight news video.

On *CNTV Chinese*, seventeen news links were selected. Five of the news links were articles and twelve were videos. Of the five news links, four were straight news while one was an interview with an expert in military affairs. Of the twelve videos, ten were straight news. It has noted two news show videos which are "Experts: African Union Worried the Attack Will Cause more Civilians Deaths" and "Allied Military Attack, Where Libya Will Go". In the former video, the anchor interviewed a so-called "expert", but the titles of the expert could not be found. The latter one was an interview with a commentator from *CCTV* and a scholar specialized in Middle East.

***Emphasis of the stories***

*(a) Reactions of different countries*

Reporting the reactions of different countries was one of the focuses on *CNTV Chinese*. A news video titled "Allied Air Strikes Libya, Different Countries Responses with Different Stances, Some Countries Regrets or Censures" was published. According to the news report, China and Russia expressed regrets for the intervention; Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia censured the action as military action; Czech of Republic and Portugal were not going to join the action but would offer humanitarian aid while Germany supported the action but would not join the action. In other words, most of the countries mentioned in the reports were not supporting the military action. In addition, the announcement made by the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, was quoted saying that the military action "was irresponsible", "would cause even more deaths", "the United States and its allied force started the action for the oil." It is conclusive that the reports gave only a partial picture manipulating perception that most countries disagreed with the action (*CNTV Chinese*, 20th March 2011).

*CNTV English* also reported similar news about other countries denying the military action but the news reports were more balanced. In an article titled "World Reactions to Western Military Strikes against Libya", criticism made by countries like Russia, Venezuela were reported. However, the article also quoted some statements from countries like Qatar which joined the air strike (*CNTV English*, 21st March 2011). Moreover, in another news video, "Intervention Launched in Libya", footage with the leaders of the countries joining the military action were shown, which included the British Prime Minister, the French President, the Secretary of State of the United States. In these video clips, all leaders expressed the reasons for

the intervention, using phrases such as "violence in Libya must end", "the slaughter of civilians", "more innocent civilians are killed" (*CNTV English*, 20th March 2011).

*(b) Influences on the Libyan civilians and their reactions*

While the aim of the international intervention in Libya was to protect the civilians under the dictatorship of Gaddafi, Libyan officials and other countries stated many Libyan citizens actually suffered from the action. *CNTV Chinese* had quite substantial coverage on reporting the causalities during the allied military action and the protests against the allied action in Libya. In one of the news video with a very sensational title, "More than Ten of Thousands of Libyan Citizens Protest, Willing to Die to Protect Their Country", the anchor said that the citizens living in the capital had gone to Gaddafi's military station to in order to protest the military attack from the Western countries, and to compose human shields to protect the country (*CNTV Chinese*, 20th March 2011). Instead of showing the images of the protest, the video showed an injured child. The emotional images of that injured child in bed expressed human suffering and reflected the atrocious consequences of the Western military attack. Afterwards, a road with many cars driving in the same direction was shown. Although it is not the scene of the protest, the image somehow made viewers feel that the cars were actually going to join the protest. While it was not possible for the audience to know if the people in the cars were the protesters, this sensational video made the audience feel sympathetic to the Libyan citizens, or even disagree with the allied military action.

In contrast, *CNTV English* only mentioned the protests against the Western airstrikes in Libya in a studio interview with two scholars from the China Institute of International Studies and Beijing Foreign Studies University. The title of the video was "Will Ordinary Civilians Defend Gaddafi?" In the video, the anchor asked, "Gaddafi's supporters are claiming to set up the human shield against the international military. Is it possible that ordinary civilians could take up arms and defend the Gaddafi's regime?" (*CNTV English*, 20th March 2011). Although the anchor mentioned the protest more like a fact than doubting its truth, this is the only video mentioned about the protests. It showed that *CNTV English* might want to keep the credibility to foreign audience as they do not have actual scene of the protests to show. The channel discussed it as a solid fact instead of reporting in a sensational way *CNTV Chinese* did.

Apart from the protest, Libyan state television claimed that ordinary civilians were wounded by the Western military attacks. Among other things, it published a video-clip showing a Libyan official visiting injured people in the hospital. *CNTV Chinese* published the footage in its news video titled "Libya Television: Civilians Injured during the Air Strike." In the video-clip, a *CCTV* anchor said that "causing ordinary civilian deaths is never a situation which we want to see." The anchor then claimed that "48 people were dead and 150 were injured" and that "most of them were women, children and elderly" (*CNTV Chinese*, 20th March 2011). While the length of the news video was one-minute-eighteen-second, *CNTV English* only used 45 words to report the causalities in the articles titled "48 Killed, 150 Wounded in Western airstrikes, Libyan TV Says" and "Western Air Strikes Kill 64 in Libya -- Health Official." Without any images, the articles only pointed out the numbers of the dead without mentioning if they were children, women or elderly. Gaddafi was then quoted saying that "[Western] air strikes were designed to "terrify the Libyan people'" (*CNTV English*, 20th March 2011). However, this article also mentioned the purpose of the UN resolution is to protect Libyan civilians.

*(c) Reactions of Libyan government and Gaddafi*

After the first airstrike, Gaddafi and his regime opposed the allied forces and expressed their mission to protect their country. *CNTV Chinese's* coverage heavily emphasized their reactions. In the news video, "Gaddafi Censured Allied Military Action is a 'Naked invasion.'" Gaddafi was quoted saying that the action would turn North Africa and the Mediterranean into a war zone, the video showed first a close-up of a destroyed building, then an exploding bomb. In this video, along with the voice over, the selections of images was somehow matched with the statements about the obstruction of peace and endangering the civilians. Moreover, when the anchor summarized the criticism made by the general secretary, she said "the military action has destroyed the country's infrastructure; many ordinary civilians were killed or injured" (*CNTV Chinese*, 20th March 2011). The video also showed the scene of the hospital with many doctors helping casualties lying in beds. However, those videos did not offer any chance for the counterpart like France and U.S. to explain the causalities in their action.

In contrast, *CNTV English* did not place that much emphasis on the criticism made by Gaddafi's regime. Sentences like "Gaddafi has called the intervention colonial, crusader aggression", was written in the article titled "1st Wave of Allied Assault against Libya

Launched" (*CNTV English*, 20th March 2011). In another article titled "Gaddafi Sends Defiant Letters to World Leaders over UN Resolution", it quoted the content from the letter saying, "I have all the Libyan people supporting me and they are prepared to die for me", "I am facing al-Qaeda here." However, the purpose of the UN resolution, "to protect civilians in the embattled country", was also stated in the last part of the article (*CNTV English*, 20th March 2011).

***Quotes selections***

Overall, the selection of quotes is an essential tool for *CNTV* to frame the news coverage of the Libyan incident. On *CNTV Chinese*, most of the statements were made by Gaddafi and his government, six articles or videos quoted the criticism on the allied military action made by them. Furthermore, contents from other news agencies were also often used; the Libyan State Television was the main source, an article titled "German Media Worry about the Situation in Libya after the Airstrikes" also quoted the criticisms made by Germen media agencies describing the Western military action as "a war without strategy" (*CNTV Chinese*, 21st March 2011). My research show that all CNTV quotes were focused on the negative side of the allied airstrike, for example the criticisms made by the leaders of Venezuela, Russia, and Cuba.

On *CNTV English*, quotes made by Libyan officials and Gaddafi were also extensively used in the coverage. However, it also showed the other side of the opinion, such as comments supporting the allied airstrike made by leaders from France, Britain and other countries. Statements made by officials from United States were also significant on *CNTV English*. In two of the articles, over 50% of their contents were statements made by the U.S. officials. However, one of the statements was actually made by the U.S. defense chief, Robert Gates, in this article titled "U.S. Defense Chief Warns against Expanding Military Strike Goals in Libya." Gates stated that "it will complicate the consensus around the UN Security Council resolution on no-fly zone over Libya if there is an attempt to expand the goals of military strikes against the North African nation." The article also quoted Gates saying "most nations in the region want to see Libya remain a unified state, and cautioned against getting too involved in the internal conflict of that country" (*CNTV English*, 21st March 2011) Instead of selecting quotes made by other U.S. officials criticizing Gaddafi's violent action against his citizens or indicating the importance of the No-fly zone, *CNTV English* selected those quotes which were not dissimilar to the stance of China.

### *Omissions in either edition*

After the allied forces launched the action in Libya, anti-war protest against the military action happened in different cities in the United States. A short news report with around 100 words titled "Few-hundred Americans Protest outside White House, 113 People Arrested" was made on *CNTV Chinese*. The news report stated that a few hundred people protested outside the White House in the United States and that protests were also provoked in cities including New York, Los Angles, and Chicago (*CNTV Chinese*, 20th March 2011). The article emphasizes that these protests were also to commemorate the eighth anniversary of Iraq war. None of these protests were mentioned in *CNTV English*.

### *Wordings and style*

Every media agency is subjective and has its own view on different news events; hence they framed the news event in their own way. However, I found that wordings and style used on *CNTV Chinese* were less objective than those on *CNTV English*. In other words, the anchors and reporters tended to add more comments or define the problems directly in the news reports. In the video on *CNTV Chinese* titled "Why did France Act unusually This Time?" the anchor first stated that "it was unusual for France to act first in this kind of incident [referring to military intervention in Libya]." The anchor then analyzed the reasons from the aspects of political geography, history, and economy. Commenting that "the economic reason might be more important" and "the oil resource was significant to the whole Europe", the anchor described France as "glaring like a tiger eyeing its prey." Gaddafi was then quoted saying that his enemies wanted to control the oil resources and the people in Libya (*CNTV Chinese*, 20th March 2011). The whole news report did not mention humanism as a reason to join the force.

While *CNTV Chinese* used more subjective wordings to explain why France played an active role in the military action, *CNTV English* did not publish any news with similar topics during those two days. This video clearly showed the stance of China. As mentioned in the last section of this chapter, a directive from the State Council Information Office suggested online media to put the headline of the article titled "In the Eyes of Hegemonic Powers, There are Only 'Crimes against Western Interests'" on their homepage. The opinion revealed from this headline was exactly the same as the opinions made by the anchor in the video discussed above.

***Summary***

Although both news websites took the position against the UN resolution, the frames in the stories on *CNTV English* were more balanced than those on *CNTV Chinese*. The quotes used by *CNTV Chinese* were usually fused with emotions. For instance, it quoted Hugo Chávez saying that "the United States and its allied forces started the action for the oil" (20th March 2011). It even favored in putting the quotes directly to the headline, such as the article titled "Gaddafi: 'Allied Assault is Terrorism"'. The quotes on *CNTV Chinese* were very selective, only the statements made by Gaddafi and his supporters, or from countries which did not join the allied force were selected.

*CNTV English* was comparatively balanced, apart from quoting the supporters of the Libyan government; it also tried to quote those comments supporting the No-fly zone. *CNTV Chinese* was also more sensational; it mentioned many times about the civilian casualties during the airstrike made by the Western countries, even claiming that most of the injuries were "children" and "elderly." The related videos sourced from the Libyan Television also used on *CNTV Chinese* but not *CNTV English*.

Certainly, both *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English* doubted the purposes of the no-fly zone in their news coverage; two editions framed their news quite similar. Nevertheless, the degree of framing was different. The frames on *CNTV Chinese* were more salient. As Entman (1993) states, salience is a significant element to make frames work. While salience could be achieved by the placement of text, *CNTV Chinese* directly used the quotes by Gaddafi or Chávez condemning the allied action in its headlines which made the frames more obvious and clear than those on *CNTV English*. The headlines on *CNTV English* are comparatively less emotional. *CNTV English* framed their news mainly by the selections of quotes and tried to present as a balanced media to its audience.

## 4.3 The Coverage of Yueyue's incident

The news event, traffic accident of a 2-year old girl Yueyue in Foshan, China, was local news for people living in China and foreign news to most English-speaking audience. Audiences usually hold different expectations for foreign news and domestic news, a factor that is taken into consideration when news agencies decide how they framed the news, as *CNTV*

*English*'s mission is to promote PRC's image aboard, this accident definitely reflected a worrying side of China. The news frames in the coverage of two news websites are therefore compared in order to further understand their roles.

To compare the coverage, six news links on *CNTV Chinese* are selected. Five of them were articles and another was a video. Two of the articles were commentaries titled "Law Regulating the Behavior of Ignoring Someone in Danger Should Not Set an Off-limits Area" and "Shouting Morality Does Not Help with the Girl Who Was Crashed", while the other three were straight news. The news video titled "Yueyue's Life Is in Danger, May Result in a Vegetative State" showed the footage of the traffic accident published on 19th of October. For *CNTV English*, five news links were selected. All of them were articles as no related news videos were found. The titles of the stories are "Help Late; Girl Run Over by Two Vans Brain Dead"; "Toddler's Fate Remains in Limbo"; "Experts Call for Public to Help Accident Victims"; "Law Mulled to Make Aid Compulsory" and "China Looks to Weibo to Help Good Samaritans". All news reports were straight news.

***Emphasis of the stories***

*(a) Enacting legislation*

Apart from reporting the Yueyue's incident, both news websites focused on publishing news and discussion about enacting the legislation to punish those who abandoned people in mortal danger and protect those good Samaritans. *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* both included the discussions about the legislation. However, most of the opinions quoted on *CNTV English* did not support to punish those who not willing to help. In the article, "China Looks to Weibo to Help Good Samaritans", a scholar Zeng states that "laws punishing people's behavior may encroach upon their rights." A professor from a law school, Wang, wrote that "refusing to help people should not be a crime." Only one argument, by a lawyer surnamed Zhu, supported the initiative saying "now is the right time to legislate against refusing to help people" (19th October 2011).

Nevertheless, on *CNTV Chinese*, the discussion was not totally about the negative side of enacting such a law. Instead, a commentary titled "Law Regulating the Behavior of Ignoring Someone in Danger Should not set an Off-limits Area" was published. In this article, the

commentator responds to the scholars who did not support the legislation. He criticized those scholars and stated that had the legislation been enacted, Yueyue might be alive today (20th October 2011). The commentary shows that this issue of legislation has been discussing for very long time and was rekindled by Yueyue's death. This commentary was therefore written to further discuss the issue and refute those opponents who refuse to support the law.

*(b) Moral crisis and discussions*

The incident of Yueyue has definitely stirred up the debate on the moral crisis in China, but on *CNTV English*, the issue of morality was seldom getting mentioned. *CNTV English* did not even quote any interviewee or commentator condemning those eighteen passers-by ignoring the injured Yueyue. In fact, the words "morality" appeared six times in all selected news on *CNTV English* while it appeared around fifty times on *CNTV Chinese*.

*CNTV Chinese* put much focus on the issue of society's morality. In an article titled "Guangdong Mass Representative: the Incident of Yueyue Highlights the Lack of Moral", the vice-director of the community of social work, Liu, was quoted saying that "this incident has reflected how some of the Chinese citizens have lost their morality and have become very ruthless." Liu added that "a good legal system is not enough for a civilized society, a noble ethical order is even more necessary" (20th October 2011). To prevent anyone from ignoring someone in danger, the reports in *CNTV Chinese* showed that more people were searching for a way in improving the moral standard instead of enacting a law. Apart from this article, a commentary titled "Shouting Morality Does Not Help with the Girl Who Was crashed" discussed the morality discussion in the society in depth. The writer criticized those netizens who condemned those 18 passersby and suggested the only way to improve the moral standard in the society is to prevent good people from being framed up (*CNTV Chinese*, 20th October 2011)

***Quotes selections***

The quotes used by *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* were very similar in seeking quotes from scholars, professors, lawyers. However, *CNTV Chinese* quoted more from the 57-year old rag-collector, Chen, who helped Yueyue than *CNTV English*. Moreover, those quotes were usually direct quotes. For instance, an article titled "Guangdong Official Will

Organize a Forum, to Condemn the Behavior of Ignoring Someone in Danger" on *CNTV Chinese* who quoted a lot from Chen. In the article, the reporters mentioned a company that donated 50,000 RMB to Chen to praise her good heart but Chen was then quoted saying, "I would give the money to little Yueyue even if you gave it to me" (*CNTV Chinese*, 19th October 2011). In contrast, when the article titled "Toddler's Fate Remains in Limbo" on *CNTV English* reported the same scene as *CNTV Chinese* did, it chose to quote another statement from Chen: "I didn't earn the money. I will feel uneasy if I take it. My daughter asked me not to take any money for fear of unkind words from others" (*CNTV English*, 19th October 2011). In addition, the article on *CNTV Chinese* also describes the scene where Chen was holding Yueyue's hand in the hospital saying, "Little Yueyue, I am the old lady who carried you that day, would you wake up and play with me?" This direct quote could not be found on *CNTV English*. The image and personality of Chen are therefore much more vivid on *CNTV Chinese* than *CNTV English*; the story has a very human element that could easily "touch" the audience.

### *Wordings and styles*

Overall, the tone of the news stories on *CNTV English* was much more detached and less sensational, and they mainly focused on the discussion about the legislation while the selected quotes on *CNTV English* were usually comments made by the experts. *CNTV Chinese*, on the other hand, was very different; it was much more sensational and human. For instance *CNTV Chinese* described how Yueyue's limbs were moving while Chen held her hands in the hospital. It also described the scene where Chen gave an envelope with the money to Yueyue's mother. The writer of the article published on 19th October 2011, "Guangdong Official Will Organize a Forum, to Condemn the Behavior of Ignoring Someone in Danger", wrote "Ms Qu cried and knelt down [to Chen], then took that heavy envelope." The phrase "the heavy envelope" apparently was the invention of the writer of the article, where "heavy" indicated not the money but the good heart of Chen.

### *Sources of the news*

Different from the news coverage about Libya, *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English* did not source their news from *CCTV*. All related news on *CNTV English* was sourced from China Daily. The sources for *CNTV Chinese* were various it sourced more its news from the private media from Guangdong province. Only one article "Shouting Morality Does Not Help with the

Girl Who Was Crashed" was produced by *CNTV Chinese* while other news coverage sourced from *Guangzhou Daily, Chinanews.com, Jiancha Daily and Jinghua Shibao*. The frames in the news coverage of *CNTV Chinese* were therefore more various than *CNTV English*.

The sources reflected the different styles of the coverage on *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese*. China Daily is one of the most authoritative state-owned newspapers with external propaganda being a primary mission. The coverage on *CNTV English* is therefore expected to be more authoritative, with news events framed as an issue about legislation in China. Overall, the stories from *CNTV Chinese* were more personal and sensational.

***Summary***

The Yueyue's incident was domestic news in China. My findings show that the discussions on *CNTV Chinese* were much more critical and complicated. Although both news websites have covered the legal discussions, my research found that the amounts of those discussions were comparatively less on *CNTV Chinese*. Hence the discussions on *CNTV Chinese* were more updated and in-depth. Moral discussions were not covered on the *CNTV English*; instead, they were the main focus on *CNTV Chinese*. There were fewer commentaries on *CNTV English* than its counterpart, but at the same time, the stories about Yueyue and the rag collector who rescued her were less sensational and human on *CNTV English* when compared to *CNTV Chinese*.

## 4.4 Discussion

In the first part of this chapter, the editorial policies of *CCTV-NEWS* are discussed which can be applied to the situation of *CNTV*. I have also outlined the factors influencing the editorial decisions in *CNTV English*. Although SARFT, *CPD* or the foreign policies of CPC have significant influence on editorial policies on *CCTV*, different channels on *CCTV* could still make their editorial decisions under these influences. The target audience is one of the main factors influencing the editorial decisions. For instance, *CCTV-NEWS* would consider the interesting aspects of the foreign audience in order to decide how to tell a news story (Jirik, 2008, p. 276). External propaganda is also a significant factor for *CNTV English* while the guidance of public opinion is the main factor for *CNTV Chinese*.

The findings of the comparison in the second part of this chapter corresponded to the editorial policies discussed earlier. The frame-building of the coverage about the military intervention in Libya on *CNTV* were influenced by the directives and instructions mentioned in Chapter 4.1. For instance, wordings like "revolution", "democracy" were absent on both websites, and Gaddafi was framed as a popular leader but not a dictator. However, some differences were still identified, as my research shows that the news on *CNTV Chinese* was framed in stricter accordance with the Chinese state department's directives than those on *CNTV English*, such that the selection of quotes and video shots on *CNTV English* were more balanced than *CNTV Chinese*.

The editorial policies could sufficiently explain the differences. As *CNTV English* mainly targets the foreign audiences, those audiences have more opportunities to learn the situation in Middle East by browsing those mainstream media like *CNN* or *BBC*. In other words, before reading the news on *CNTV English*, those audiences already had a particular explanation and perspective on the Libyan incident. Hence *CNTV English* not only had to frame their news from a Chinese perspective but also frame them in a way that the target audiences would accept. It might be one of the reasons why the news frames on *CNTV English* is less influenced by the CPD. Apart from serving as a mouthpiece for the Chinese government, it also has to consider their target audience's taste and expectation; otherwise it will be very hard to compete with other global media giants. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Chinese state-owned media is facing an increasingly competitive environment in China, but among all other state-owned media, *CNTV Chinese* can still frame their news in a way directly connected to the CPC foreign policy.

The findings of the comparison of different sources reporting the Yueyue's incident again demonstrated that the target audience was a significant consideration for *CNTV* to select and frame their news. As the declining moral standard in society has always been a hot topic in China, *CNTV Chinese* covered commentaries in depth on their news sites after the incident. It did not need to provide much background information as the audiences were aware of the situation in China. However, *CNTV English* has to explain more about the situation to its audience; for instance, it had to explain the case of Peng Yu[9] in details to its audience. The

[9] The case of Peng Yu in 2007 in Nanjing sparked nationwide concern after he helped a 65-year-old woman lying on the ground with a fracture. The woman accused Peng of hitting her.

discussions were therefore more informational than "accusational" to make them easier to be understood.

Moreover, *CNTV English* did not cover the moral discussions while *CNTV Chinese* emphasized their coverage on this issue. As the debates on the moral crisis might result in pointing China as a less socially developed country with cruel citizens, this fell in contradiction to the external propaganda function of *CNTV English* discussed earlier. Moreover, discussion about morality is more complicated than those on legal issues for people living outside China. Bearing the interest of its foreign audiences in mind, *CNTV English* has therefore presented news with a frame different from its Chinese counterpart.

The comparison of this chapter shows that *CNTV English* is more than a translation of the Chinese edition. Even though both *CNTV Chinese and CNTV English* shared a similar set of instructions and perhaps similar reporting agenda, *CNTV English* frames the news differently according to its channel's purposes and its target audience. It is believed that the main goal of *CNTV* is similar to that of *CNN* and *Al-Jazeera*, but the uniqueness of *CNTV* lies in the fact that *CNTV* is controlled by the Chinese government. It is not like *CNN* that is independent and may shape the U.S. policy; it is also different from Al-Jazeera that reflects "Middle East and North Africa" perspectives. For *CNTV*, its duties is not only to bring Chinese public diplomacy to the world, to harness the soft power of the country to match its rising economic clout (South China Morning Post, 30th Dec 2009) and to redraw the West's understanding of China, but also to guide the public opinion inside or outside China.

Although the influence from *CNN* on world politics may not be as significant as before, the model of *CNN* and its production of news still represent the highest standard within the global news industry. Not only influencing the world politics or dominating the news flows, *CNN* also brought very big impact to the global media industry, for instance large media agencies try to model after *CNN* nowadays. According to the producer of *CCTV-NEWS*, Zheng, *CCTV-NEWS* is also modeling after other international news media. The re-launch of *CCTV-NEWS* was ordered by Li Changchun who in 2003 had called for the creation of "China's *CNN*" (Jirik, 2010, p. 2). Therefore, to identify the *CNTV English*'s role within the global news flows, I compare how *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* framed the same news stories respectively.

# Chapter 5 Comparison of *CNTV English* and *CNN.com*

In this Chapter, the news frames of the international edition of *CNN.com* and *CNTV English* are compared. Exploring whether *CNTV English* provides alternative frames of news is key to study its role as contra-flows in global communication. To do so, it is vital to compare its news content with those from mainstream media like *CNN*. Such comparison uses continually the two news events examined in the previous chapter. While *CNTV*'s editorial system was investigated in Chapter 4, this chapter starts with an introduction of the characteristics of *CNN*. This shall help us to understand the relations between *CNTV English* and *CNN.com*, before we continue the comparison of their news frames deployed in covering the news events.

## 5.1 Characteristics of CNN.com

*CNN* is an advertising-supported cable television network from the U.S. It has been seen as one of the most credible news organization in the U.S. (PewResearchCenter, 2010). As a global key player, *CNN* is representative of the dominant-flow in the global media flows (Thussu, 2006). In 2011, the television channel of *CNN International* reached more than 280 million households outside the U.S. It was the first television network to provide 24 hours non-stop news to the audience 1980. Unlike *CNTV*, *CNN* is not owned by any government authorities. According to TimeWarner's website (2012), it also claimed itself "upheld editorial independence and artistic expression, earning the trust of our readers, viewers, listeners, members and subscribers". As a global media, the website of *CNN*, *CNN.com*, has started providing 24/7 live streams of video content as early as 2005. Editors of *CNN.com* are responsible for selecting the most suitable contents from the programs of *CNN*'s television channels for the website.

The significance of *CNN* is not only its network but also its impact on foreign policy and world politics, which can be rightfully described as "CNN effect" (Schorr, 1998; Seib, 2002), influencing U.S. policy makers during humanitarian[10] crises and world politics. This effect is an essential reference for analyzing *CNN*'s news coverage of the international military

[10] In this article the term humanitarian intervention indicated the use of military force for achieving humanitarian goal. The interventions in Iraq 1991is commonly understood to this definition.

intervention in Libya. But whether or not *CNN.com* upholds its ideological stance and set a humanitarian crises frame for the Libyan incident is left to close examination in this chapter. Although CNN effect is eclipsed by recent development of global media and communication (as discussed in Chapter 2), its ability in shaping political discourses on world affairs is still overwhelming to politicians and audiences worldwide. While *CNTV* is eager to reach more global audience and bring significant impact to the world, it is unavoidable that *CNTV English* has to compete with the global media giant like *CNN.com*. In fact, as a dominant flow in global communication, *CNN* has been constant conflict with Chinese readers and the Chinese government[11.] A Chinese website, anti-*CNN.com*, was even established to accuse *CNN* of biased reporting against China. Since one of the major functions for *CNTV English* is external propaganda, I therefore propose that it will be essential for *CNTV English* to respond and retort the coverage about China from *CNN* to offset international criticism. Based on this background and proposition, the comparison between news frames from *CNTV English* and that of *CNN.com* should examine whether the former is a counter-voice to the later. Nevertheless, as discussed in previous chapters, the target audience is a significant factor influencing the frame-building process considering that both *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* are similar groups of audiences, it is logical to assume the news frames from the two websites should not be too different.

To explore discrepancies of the news content between *CNTV English* and *CNN.com*, this research compares their news coverage about the international Intervention in Libya and the Yueyue's incident. The comparisons is a continuation to what has been done in Chapter 4, for instance the selected materials of *CNTV English* and the selected periods of the news events are the same as those in Chapter 4. This also enables the study to draw parallels between *CNTV English*, *CNTV Chinese* and *CNN.com* at the end.

[11] In 2008, a group of Chinese lawyers sued commentator Jack Cafferty and *CNN* for "violating the dignity and reputation of the Chinese people." This was in response to an incident during *CNN*'s "The Situation Room" on April 9, where Cafferty stated his opinion that "[the U.S.] continue to import their junk with the lead paint on them and the poisoned pet food" in *CNN*'s program. China's Foreign Ministry also demanded for an apology.

## 5.2 The Coverage of the International Intervention in Libya 2011

The comparison begins with juxtaposing the videos with the biography of Gaddafi published on *CNN.com* and *CNTV English*. Then I shall demonstrate how the two news sites frame the votes in the UN Security Council and the initial allied airstrikes of 20th to 21st March 2011. However, special topic pages are not compared as there was no topic pages of the sort set up on *CNN.com*.

On *CNN.com*, most of the news reports are video news. Among the selected materials, more than 80% of the news reports were videos while the others were articles. Apart from the news produced by *CNN*, there was also a section called *iReport*, this section allowed readers to sign up and share the stories on *CNN.com*. However, I did not select articles from *iReport* so as to focus mainly on *CNN*'s news production. For *CNTV English*, the selected materials for this comparison are exactly the same as those in Chapter 4.

### 5.21 Comparison: The biography of Gaddafi

On 20th October and 21st October, *CNN.com* and *CNTV English* published videos about Gaddafi's biography respectively; both videos narrate the important life events of Gaddafi. The title of the video on *CNN.com* is "Moammar Gadhafi's Colorful History", the length of the clip is four minutes; while the title on *CNTV English* is "Profile of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi", and the length of the clip is three minutes. The findings from the analysis show that the two news websites depict Gaddafi's life in different lights. As discussed in Chapter 4, the frames in the coverage on *CNTV English* reveal that *CNTV English* tended to frame Gaddafi as a beloved leader and downplay his dictatorship. In contrast, *CNN.com* holds completely different frames in its coverage.

***Emphasis of the videos***

*(a) Gaddafi's Contribution to Libya*

Both videos mentioned the policies and political system advocated by Gaddafi. However, *CNN.com* used only 11 % of the coverage on them. The anchor said Gaddafi, "Set about wiping all foreign influence from the country including all vestiges of communism or capitalism." at the beginning of the video. It also mentions his initiation of uniting the Arab world and proclaiming a merger between Libya, Egypt and Syria in 1972 which has never succeeded. The anchor commented that, "Gaddafi always said that his goal was to change the world. But it was the way he set out to do it that amused, confused, and often infuriated." Except the failed plan, the video on *CNN.com* almost had no mention in any other contribution and policy of Gaddafi.

However, on *CNTV English*, Gaddafi was presented as a very capable leader of the country. The anchor of the video mentioned that he created a system called "state of the masses", in which power is meant to be held by thousands of "people's committees." The anchor continued to say Gaddafi has built the country's armed forces and spent billions of dollars from the oil so as to improve people's living standard. According to the video, these policies "make him popular among the poor."

*(b) The image and personality of Gaddafi*

While *CNN.com* did not stress Gaddafi's actual contribution, it instead narrated lots of his "bizarre" behavior. Along with discussing his tents and women body guards, *CNN.com* spent 13% of its video to comment on Gaddafi's speech in United Nations 2009. According to the anchor of the video, "His [Gaddafi's] speeches were legendary for both length and bombast. This 2009 speech at the UN was typical." The anchor continued "what was supposed to be a 15-minute talk rambled for more than 90 minutes." The video at the same time shows the facial expressions and acts of the members in that UN meeting: some were checking their phones, rubbing their eyes, one scene even showed that two members were sleeping and leaning on the desks. The scenes imply that Gaddafi's speeches were boring and the anchor described his behavior as bizarre.

Similar narration can be barely found in *CNTV English*'s video. Gaddafi's tents and women body guards were mentioned, but the anchor refrained from making any further judgment than saying, "He has a reputation among many Africans as a maverick statesman." In the video, Gaddafi looks comparatively cordial, smiling all the time surrounded by civilians and supporters. In contrast to *CNN.com*, *CNTV English* stressed more Gaddafi's actual contribution.

*(c) Involvement in Terrorist Attacks*

Both videos stressed the terrorist activities that Gaddafi was involved in, but in *CNN.com's* coverage more time were spent on this topic than in *CNTV English's*. Both videos narrated the attack in a nightclub in Berlin and the plane that blew up over the village of Lockerbie in Scotland. These events were framed in very similar ways, whereas, *CNN.com*'s report on Lockerbie came with more details. The anchor reported that when the investigators traced the attack back to Libya, "the country refused to turn over the suspect", the UN then imposed tough sanctions leaving the country isolated and increasingly destitute. Afterwards, the anchor said Gaddafi opened his country again in 1999 and "gave up the Lockerbie bombing suspects for trial", but according to the anchor, though Gaddafi opened his country and welcomed western oil companies into Libya, "questions lingered about whether some western oil contracts were traded for Scotland's release of one of the convicted Lockerbie bombers." As mentioned in Chapter 4, *CNTV English* also reported the terrorist attacks in Berlin and Scotland. However, unlike *CNN.com*, the anchor of *CNTV English* only described the factual information like the numbers of deaths and the location in the video without adding any comments or more information.

***Wordings and style***

The comparison shows that both *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* were partial in describing the life of Gaddafi. *CNTV English* was partial to the positive contribution of Gaddafi while *CNN.com* was comparatively partial to the failure of Gaddafi. However, the style of *CNTV English*'s video was comparatively straightforward and detached. The only opinion *CNTV English* made was "these policies make him popular among the poor." The death of Gaddafi was therefore presented as a loss to Libya. This news frame in *CNTV English* also implies the Western military action against Gaddafi unreasonable.

In contrast to *CNTV English*, *CNN.com* used more explicit language to frame Gaddafi than *CNTV English*. The video on *CNN.com* was very condescending. The title of the news video is "Moammar Gadhafi's Colorful History", but the so called "colorful" here meant the "bizarre" behavior of Gaddafi. The footage about Gaddafi's speech in the UN in 2009 discussed earlier also shows the ironies of the video. The anchor described Gaddafi's speeches as "legendary", but it is because of its length and bombast instead of its content. The tone of the entire video was condescending.

### *Selection of Shots*

#### *Images of Gaddafi*

Both *CNN.com* and *CNTV English* use a lot of video footage and photographs of Gaddafi in their videos. *CNTV English* framed Gaddafi's profile very differently when compared to *CNN.com*. *CNTV English* frames Gaddafi as a powerful and popular leader. The angles of filming Gaddafi were usually from the bottom to top, this magnifies his powers. In addition, Gaddafi was always smiling in all the moving images. He was also cheered and followed by his citizens. The visual framing of Gaddafi's image is in line with his image presented in the whole video.

*CNN.com* frames Gaddafi as an incapable and strange leader; the angles of the selected footage were usually straight. His facial expressions appear to be stem and hostile. It is also hard to find a close-up of Gaddafi in *CNN.com* video. The video ends with a distance shot in which Gaddafi was standing with the group of people next to a plane. Zooming out on Gaddafi makes his death and his life look only like a show. Filming other people standing in front of Gaddafi, the shot transmits a feeling that Gaddafi remained a person who is difficult to understand. As mentioned in Chapter 2, in order to identify the role of *CNTV English* as an alternative flow, it is essential to compare it with the mainstream media. As the analysis of the Gaddafi's video show, the way of *CNTV English* reporting Gaddafi is opposite to *CNN.com*.

### *Summary*

As discussed in Chapter 4, *CNTV English* emphasized heavily the contribution made by Gaddafi in his biography. Gaddafi appeared as a friendly and capable national leader. He was

popular among the poor and was eager to build an equalitarian society. Selection of stories is the main framing device for *CNTV English*. On the contrary, the journalists in *CNN.com* did not select those incidents in their report. The video of *CNN.com* focused mainly on the "bizarre" behavior of Gaddafi. The frames were mainly built by the language and style used by the anchor, the selection of stories and images. In fact, the position of *CNN* to the Libyan war was quite obvious. As Gurevitch et al. (1991) suggests, "In order to be judged newsworthy, an event must be anchored in a narrative framework that is already familiar to and recognizable by newsmen as well as by audiences." The video of *CNN.com* framed Gaddafi as a savage leader, it is the narrative framework recognized by the *CNN* newsman as well as the Western audiences from Western Europe and North America as Gaddafi for a long was viewed negatively by those audiences. However, it is interesting that though *CNTV English*'s target audience is similar to *CNN.com*, the coverage did not narrate Gaddafi as an inhuman leader. The news frames on *CNTV English* are totally different from *CNN.com*.

## 5.22 Comparison: Coverage of the UN Security Council votes

On 18th March 2011, UN Security Council approved the no-fly zone in Libya. *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* reported the decision of UN council and the stance of different countries respectively. Four related news links were selected on *CNN.com* on 18th March. Three of the links were videos including a feature titled "Libya Rebels Celebrate Votes", a news room interview with the *CNN International* senior correspondent Nic Robertson titled "Q & A: What the Libya No-fly Zone Means?", and a straight news video titled "UN Okays No-fly Zone in Libya". Another was a straight news article titled "World Leaders Clarify Libyan Plans." The selected news reports on *CNTV English* are the same as the materials in Chapter 4. In other words, three articles published concerning the voting of a no-fly zone on *CNTV English* are chosen.

### *Emphasis of the stories*

#### *(a) Reasons for supporting the resolution*

When UN council approved the no-fly zone in Libya, *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* expressed very different views on the decision. *CNN.com* emphasized that the goal of the resolution was to protect the innocent civilians under the threat of the Libyan government. The

coverage described the Libyan government as a brutal regime, which would kill or even massacre civilians at anytime. The video titled "UN Security Okays No-fly zone over Libya" also uses quotes from the U.S. ambassador in the UK, Susan Rice, who said "Today the Security Council has responded to the Libyan people crying for help. This council is clear to protect innocent civilians."

However, unlike *CNN.com*, *CNTV English* did not mention any massacre or killings made by Gaddafi's regime. In the feature of *CNN.com* titled "Libya Rebels Celebrate Votes", the importance of the intervention from the UN was clearly illustrated by the brutal image of the Libyan government. The story starts with a very sensational description:

> *Gone the fear, gone the sense of betrayal and abandonment, the opposition erupted to celebration. Gun fired wildly in to the air, as they heard the announcement of the UN resolution has passed, watching it on the big screen on the side of the Benghazi court house, their prayers finally answered (CNN.com, 18th March 2011).*

The video shows people cheering, celebrating, dancing and singing. Some of them were even crying. The anchor then said:

> *Prior to the UN votes, we saw terror and horror and despair spread across people's faces, feeling Gaddafi will eventually come through and massacre them. That had been then replaced by relief and pure exhilaration, with people are now believing they can actually now bring about everything they have ever dreamed of.*

The video shows that the terror of Gaddafi and his regime enveloped the people in Benghazi. It implies how fearsome Gaddafi was as a leader to some people and supported how significant the approval of the no-fly zone was. This sensational feature is not only able to provoke the audiences' compassion for the rebels but also to strengthen their beliefs towards the UN Security Council's decision. In contrast to *CNN.com*, *CNTV English* did not mention any Libyans' terror of Gaddafi. In fact, *CNTV English* only emphasized on the stance of China instead of stating the reasons to support the UN resolution.

*(b) Stance of China*

When compared to *CNN.com*, *CNTV English* was much less sensational. The major emphasis of the story was to explain the stance of China. Two out of three articles were titled "China has Serious Difficulty with Part of the Resolution" and "China Urges UN to Listen to Arabs." The coverage neither mentions how the civilians were under threat of the attack from the Libyan government nor how much the civilians looked forward to the help from the UN Security Council. Instead, *CNTV English* mainly reported "China basically supported the UN Security's adoption of necessary actions to stabilize the situation in Libya but had serious difficulties with parts of the content of the resolution." In the report, the representative of China urged UN to "solve the problems in peaceful ways instead of any military action." Phrases like "respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Libya" were mentioned in the article.

To match the expectations of the Western audience, *CNTV English* reasonably agrees the purpose of the Western military action is to protect Libyan citizens under Gaddafi's threat. However, in its article, phrases like "to protect civilians under threat of attack in the North African country" presents the allied attack as threat whereas it does not indicate the Gaddafi's regime as one. Compared to *CNN.com*, the coverage of *CNTV English* was trying to indicate the inadequacy of the approval of the UN resolution. *CNTV English* downplayed the importance of protecting the innocent civilians in the resolution.

***Quotes selections***

*CNN.com* quoted more sources than on *CNTV English* did. The Libyan opposition fighters, officials of the U.S. and other countries supporting the no-fly zone, the Libyan prime minster and *CNN International* correspondents were all quoted in the four reports. However, most of the quotes were made by the leaders of the Western countries. In the article, "World Leaders Clarify Libyan Plans", 28 % of the articles is quotes by Obama. Other leaders from Western countries like France, UK, Canada and Norway were also quoted. The leaders were all from the countries which supported the military action. Among all selected coverage, only one quote from the Libyan foreign minister condemning the UN resolution was found in the video, "Q&A: What the Libyan No-fly Zone Means" In the feature titled "Libya Rebels celebrate votes", the entire video only quoted the Libya rebels in Benghazi. Hence, we can conclude that

even though *CNN.com* provided quotes from different parties, it still favored the quotes from the parties supporting the UN resolution than anything else.

On *CNTV English*, no quote from Libyan citizens was found. Most of the quotes selections were made by Chinese officials whereas only one article quoted statements made by the Libyan foreign minister. *CNTV English*, as a state-owned medium has to fulfill its duty of presenting the Chinese government's point of view to the world. The selected quotes in the coverage have fully demonstrated its purposes and functions. The selected quotes helped to frame the decision of UN in a different way; it showed that the resolution might bring more civilian casualty and violate Libya's independence instead of helping the civilians.

### *Wordings and style*

Overall, the wordings and style of *CNN.com* was much more sensational than that of *CNTV English*. In the video "Libya Rebels Celebrate Votes", the footage of the people's reaction and the language the anchor used could easily stir up audiences' excitement. According to the anchor, "They [rebels] have already lost so much in their struggles against Gaddafi's regime; the blood of the murdered will not go to waste." The footage then shows people cheering, dancing with the flag of the kingdom of Libya, some of them were crying out of happiness. Instead of explaining the no-fly zone or the resolution, *CNN* went instead with showing visuals of the Libyan people crying and laughing, which was powerful and touching. However, this style cannot be found with related coverage of *CNTV English*, no Libya rebels were interviewed in its reports.

### *Summary*

The frames in the coverage of *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* were diametrically different. Framing is a way to promote a problem definition (Entman, 1993:52), the frames observed have revealed how two news websites perceived the UN resolution. *CNN.com* framed the UN resolution as a decision that would save many Libyan civilians' lives. By using the framing devices like the languages and wordings, images, it defined UN Security Council's vote as a just and significant decision. This frames are similar to the Western audience's tastes as human right, freedom and democracy are the core values in their culture. Gaddafi's regime was exactly representing an authoritarian state which violates these values.

On the contrary, *CNTV English* mainly explained the stance of China in its coverage. *CNTV English* used Chinese officials to critique the UN resolution as a decision that might violate Libya's independence and bring more civilian deaths. Although it had mentioned the will of China is to "stabilize the situation in Libya", it did not indicate the killings or dictatorship of Gaddafi's regime. According to my interview with Zheng, "The main purpose of *CCTV-NEWS* is to spread the Chinese voice to the world." It explained why *CNTV English* emphasized the stance of China in its coverage.

## 5.23 Comparison: Coverage of the initial of the Allied airstrikes

The initial coverage of the allied airstrikes was selected for conducting the comparison of *CNN.com* and *CNTV English*. The selected news coverage from *CNTV English* is same as those selected in Chapter 4.

On *CNN.com*, 14 related news links were selected. Two of them were articles, one was straight news titled "What Happens in Libya When the Shooting Stops?" Another was an interview with the senior U.S. Senator Lindsey Graham titled "Graham: Time to get Rid of Gadhafi". Eleven of the stories were videos. Seven of the videos were straight news, their titles were "France: Still Time for Gadhafi", "Canada's Pledge to Help Libyan Civilians", "Obama Explains U.S. Role in Libya", "Coalition Airstrike: The First Hours", "Pro-Gadhafi forces dramatically halted", "Nic Robertson : Fox Claims Outrageous Human Shields" and "Activist and *CNN* Contributor Killed". The others were newsroom interviews with experts titled "European Reaction to Airstrikes", "Three key questions about Libya", "Arab League's Stance on Libya Airstrikes" and "What's Next for Gadhafi Regime?" The Results of *CNN* poll were also reported as an article.

### *Emphasis of the stories*

#### *(a) Reaction of different countries*

During the first two days of the airstrikes, both *CNN.com* and *CNTV English* published different reports concerning different countries' reaction to the airstrikes. The selections of different reactions from different people have successfully built the frames in their news. We can see that both websites covered countries, which supported and did not support the airstrikes in their coverage. However, *CNN.com* was still partial to the stance of supporting the airstrikes. In the video published on 20th March 2011, "European Reaction to Airstrike", the video quoted world leaders from France, Canada, UK and the U.S. Certainly, they all supported the air strike and believed the action could eventually help the Libyan civilians. As quoted in "France: Still Time for Gaddafi", the president of France indicated the airstrikes "have given rise to great hopes and hearts of who those share the values of democracy and human rights." The Canadian senator, Romeo Dallaire was also quoted as saying that "By employing genocidal threats to 'cleanse Libya house by house', [Gaddafi] forced the world community's hand in taking strong action to protect the human rights of all Libyans." As we can see, the values of human rights, democracy were usually mentioned as the reasons to support the airstrikes. Furthermore, reactions of the countries not supporting the military action were rarely reported. Only the Russian foreign minister of were reported in the article "What happens in Libya when the shooting stops?" He warned the action against going "beyond the intended goals of the resolution, namely the protection of the civilian population" (*CNN.com*, 20th March 2011). However, there were no more reports about countries criticizing the military action on *CNN.com*.

On *CNTV English*, an article titled "Moscow Urges Western Nations to Stop Indiscriminate Use of Force in Libya" was published. The coverage quoted the Russian foreign ministry criticizing the "indiscriminate bombing" by the allied force were causing civilian casualties (21st March 2011). Though *CNTV English* quoted the criticism against the Western military action, it also showed footages with the leaders of the countries joining the action in the video titled "World Reactions to Western Military Strikes against Libya". They stated the action was necessary as "violence in Libya must end", "the slaughter of civilian", and "more innocent civilians are killed."

*(b) Influence on the Libyan civilians and their reactions*

Although the UN resolution indicated that the airstrikes were to help the civilians, the Libyan national television reported that civilian casualties during the allied military action and the protests against the U.N, resolution in Libya. However, no articles or videos focused on the civilian casualties as a result of the operation by the allied force on *CNN.com*. The problems about the civilian casualties were mentioned in the video titled "Arab League's Stance on Libya Airstrikes" and 'Coalition airstrike: The First Hours'. The former was an interview with the Middle East expert Rami Khori. When the *CNN* anchor asked Kori about the civilian casualties, he answered "we have to wait till we see what the actual evidence is on the ground. It is almost certain that in any military move you will get civilian causalities and this is unfortunate and people realize this." He then described "struggling for freedom is going to be costly but affordable to liberate yourself" (*CNN.com*, 21st March 2011). In other words, he insinuates that a small amount of civilian causalities were unavoidable and that the airstrikes were necessary for helping and protecting the Libyan people. In the video "Coalition Airstrike: The First Hours", a footage showed burned-out military vehicles that belonged to Gaddafi's loyalists. The *CNN International* correspondent in Libya, Arwa Damon then reported about the Libyan rebels, "And they also want you to know, despite whatever propaganda Gaddafi is putting out the airstrikes and other missiles strikes are hitting civilian locations. This one they said was right on target" (*CNN.com*, 20th March 2011). The statement indicated that civilian causalities were only Gaddafi's propaganda. It might not be the truth but perhaps only his strategy of news management.

However, on *CNTV English*, there were three news links that mentioned the causalities. One of the articles was even titled "Western Air Strikes Kill 64 in Libya — Health Official", but it was a very short article only reporting the numbers of the deaths, it quoted the Libyan State Television saying that the air strike "have bombed civilian targets in Tripoli" (*CNTV English*, 21st March 2011). Besides, in another article "48 Killed, 150 Wounded in West Air Strikes, Libyan TV Says" published on 20th March, the reports again mentioned the numbers of deaths and injuries. As mentioned in Chapter 4, *CNTV English* also mentioned the protests against the Western airstrikes in Libya in a studio interview when the anchor asked a question to guest in the newsroom that "Gaddafi's supporters are claiming to set up a human shield against the international military. Is it possible that ordinary civilians could take up arms and

defend the Gaddafi's regime?" By mentioning it as a question, "the voluntarily formed human shield" appeared as a solid fact.

Conversely, *CNN.com* did not mention the protest but interviewed Libyan people supporting the Western airstrikes in its video, "Pro Gaddafi Forces Dramatically Halted", published on 21st March. A young Libyan woman was quoted saying, "[I am] firmly believing that foreign intervention prevented a massacre in Benghazi." *CNTV English* missed any coverage about Libyan people who supported the foreign intervention.

*(c) The stance of the United States*

Both *CNN.com* and *CNTV English* have focused their coverage on reporting the stance and perspective of the U.S. As Americans were usually worried about that the Libyan war might become another Iraq war, the U.S. government reaffirmed that the U.S. would not play an important role in Libya. Moreover, no ground troops will be sent to Libya. On *CNN.com*, an article titled "Obama Explains U.S. Role in Libya" focused on explaining the purpose of the airstrikes was published on 21st March, Obama emphasized that the U.S. is only "one of the partners among many." The former NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Wesley Clark was also interviewed in the video "Three Key Questions about Libya." According to Clark:

> *Our political leaders have made it very clear in the United States that it's not an American operation. It's not going to be led by Americans and it's not necessarily directed at getting rid of Moammar Gadhafi. Even though there have been earlier calls saying that he lost his legitimacy and should leave. This operation is directed at protecting innocent civilians (CNN.com, 20th March, 2011).*

We can see that *CNN.com* again used its coverage to frame the airstrikes as an action to protect the human rights of Libyan people and explain the Americans the differences between Libyan war and the Iraq war. While *CNN.com* was keen on explaining the stance of U.S. in its coverage, *CNTV English* also reported the perspectives of the U.S. in its coverage. In the article titled "Intervention Launched in Libya" published on 20th March, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was quoted as saying that, "U.S. forces are poised for action in Libya, but made it clear that Washington is determined to play a supporting role in military action there." She also indicated that, "we are standing with the people of Libya and we will not waver in our

efforts to protect them." Another article titled "U.S. Defense Chief Warns against Expanding the Military Strike Goals in Libya" had U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates warn that the consensus in the UN Security Council resolution for a no-fly zone over Libya would be complicated if there was an attempt to expand the goals of military strikes against the North African nation. According to the report, Gates said that, "Most nations in the region want to see Libya remain a unified state, and cautioned against getting too involved in the internal conflict of that country" (*CNTV English*, 21st March 2011). As we can see, although this was a comment made by the U.S. Defense Secretary, his opinion was similar to the stance of China mentioned before. As *CNTV English* is targeting foreign audience, explaining the stance of the U.S. is crucial in order to meet the audiences' interest. We can see that *CNTV English* also tried to present the stance of U.S. in its coverage; it did not select the same materials as *CNN.com*. Instead, it selected the quotes that shared similar perspectives to the stance of China which is significant as it reveals how *CNTV English* in a way balance its roles as a state-owned media from China and a global media for foreign audience.

### *Quotes selection*

The selections of quotes between *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* were very different even all selected articles for this study were chosen from 20th March 2011 to 21st March 2011. It is the most significant news framing tool for both news sites. On *CNN.com*, most of the quotes were made by the countries joining the airstrikes and the U.S. government, experts and the *CNN International* correspondents. Three reports used more than 60% of their coverage, quoting U.S. politicians including the President and the Secretary of the State. Furthermore, two videos were footage of the French president and the Canadian Minister of National Defense. Their statements were usually made to indicate that the goal of the air campaign was to protect the innocent civilians and show that many countries were supporting the action. Experts were also quoted, and those quoted in the coverage usually favored on the UN resolution, such as the journalist specializing in the issues of Middle East, like the Middle East expert Rami Khori and NATO Supreme Allied Commander Wesley Clark. Moreover, the *CNN International* correspondents in Libya like Arwa Damon were also quoted. The correspondents tried to report the actual situations in Libya and conducted interviews mostly with the Libya rebels. Two reports published on 20th March 2011 included the interviews with the rebels.

*CNTV English* did not cover any quotes from the Libya rebels or Libyan citizens. The quotes from the leaders of the countries supporting the resolution were comparatively rare. One article quoted the British Prime Minister and the French President. Statements made by the U.S. officials were used comparatively more frequently, but as mentioned before, the quotes selected by *CNTV English* matched with the position of China. As China did not support the military action, it tended not to use the quotes from the allied forces. Instead, *CNTV English* selected lots of quotes from the Libyan government and Gaddafi. Five articles covered quotes from the Libyan government, the Foreign Minister or Gaddafi. The sources from Libyan state Television were also used in two of its articles. Undoubtedly, all these quotes indicated the allied military action as invasion and an illegal action.

***Summary***

Overall, during the initial of the allied air strikes, *CNN.com* framed the allied military intervention as a successful action which was supported by different countries and the Libyan people. By interviewing the Libyan people and rebels, it indicated the braveness of the Libyan citizens who were against the Gaddafi's regime. The quotes selected by *CNN* also implied the ferocity of Gaddafi. Quotes selections and selections of incidents were the major framing tools used by *CNN.com*. Moreover, as a U.S. founded media agency, *CNN* also explained the perspective of the state. "Human rights" was the term in the coverage; it is presented as the main reason for the Western allied forces intervening Libya. "CNN effect" indicates the influences of *CNN* in different humanitarian crisis. In the Libyan incident, *CNN.com* again framed the allied military action as a humanitarian intervention.

The frames in the coverage of *CNTV English* were very different. In Chapter 4, I have already discussed the news frame of *CNTV English*. As a state-owned media, *CNTV English* tried to follow the directives mentioned in Chapter 4, the military intervention appeared as an action which was not supported by many countries and the Libyan people. However, we can see that *CNTV English* tried to balance its quote selections, but those quotes which were against the UN resolution were comparatively more. *CNTV English* mainly questioned the legitimacy of the military action while values like human rights and democracy were not mentioned. The frames in the coverage of *CNTV English* were reversed to those in *CNN.com*.

## 5.3 The Coverage of Yueyue's incident

Although the news event about the traffic accident of a 2-year old girl was Chinese domestic news, it attracted attention from foreign media, because that the incident itself has shown a serious social problem in the People Republic of China, a so-called "socialist country". The traffic incident could be hinting that material incentives replaced moral incentives and individualism replaced collectivism, with the communist/socialistic morality challenged. Moreover, the incident has stirred up Chinese people's "soul searching". All these factors made global media like *CNN* interested in this Chinese domestic news event.

To compare the coverage of *CNTV English* and *CNN.com*, I selected seven news links on *CNN.com*. The news links included news videos and articles. In these news links, the videos usually were the supplementary information for the text. One of the news links titled "Outrage in China after Toddler Run Over, Ignored"; it contains 3 videos and text, these videos showed the footage of the traffic accident, Yueyue in hospital and an interview with a psychologist analyzing the "bystander apathy". Another news link connects to a report titled "Mother, Nation Struggle along with Chinese Toddler in Hit-and-Run Video", this report contained two videos and text, but one of the videos was the same as the one in the previous link, another one is about the injured girl's family. The last news link was a report titled "China Hails Woman Who Rescued Bleeding Toddler Left for Dead", this report contained three videos and text, but two of them were published on the previous reports, another one was a interview with a professor of Asian legal studies. The selected news reports on *CNTV English* were the same as those in Chapter 4. In other words, there were five articles, no related videos were found.

***Emphasis of the story***

*(a) Reasons of the incident*

Compared to *CNTV English*, *CNN.com* spent more coverage on reporting the incident and discussing the reasons of the incident. On *CNN.com*, a low moral standard and the obsession with moving up the economic ladder were identified as the main reasons that made the tragedy possible. In "Outrage in China after Toddler Run Over, Ignored", the anchor of the video said "Some observers argue the country's education system has failed to cultivate a respect for

human life, as 1.3 billion people compete to climb up the economic and social ladder" (*CNN.com*, 18th October 2011). In "Mother, Nation Struggle Long with Chinese Toddler in Hit-and-run Video," the report also described China as a "nation obsessed with moving up the economic ladder" (*CNN.com*, 19th October 2011). This statement was also quite salient as it has been mentioned for three times in all coverage. However, similar reasons were not found on *CNTV English*.

Apart from this reason, *CNN.com* also interviewed a psychologist and a professor so as to discuss the reason from different perspectives. For instance, in the news link, "Outrage in China after Toddler Run Over, Ignored", published on 18th October, the psychologist uses "bystander apathy" in his explanation, which is a common phenomenon in any societies. In the article, "China Hails Woman Who Rescued Bleeding Toddler Left for Dead", a professor of Asian legal studies was interviewed saying, "The Peng Yu case was a significant reason for the by-passers ignoring the injured girl" (*CNN.com*, 19th October 2011)

*(b) Protecting good Samaritans and victims*

In Chapter 4, I stated that *CNTV English* focused on publishing news and discussion about enacting the legislation so as to punish those who abandon people in mortal danger and protect good Samaritans. Enacting legislation was presented as the main method for preventing any accidents similar to Yueyue accident from happening again on *CNTV English*. To protect the good Samaritans, in the article "Experts Call for Public to Help Accident Victims", a professor from China was quoted saying that, "[those] who are found to have made false accusations [about] an innocent person should be severely punished in accordance with the law" (*CNTV English*, 18th October 2011)

The analysis from Chapter 4 showed that *CNTV English* frames the main reason of Yueyue accident was this flaw in the legislation. *CNN.com* also mentions the Peng Yu's case, and it gave countries with Good Samaritan laws as examples too in its coverage titled "Mother, Nation Struggle long with Chinese Toddler in Hit-and-run Video", but such discussions were not as frequent as those on *CNTV English*. The accident was rather framed as a result of the low moral standard caused by the obsession with moving up the economic ladder in China.

### *Selection of quotes*

The selection of quotes on *CNN.com* and *CNTV English* were similar. They both quoted a psychologist, law professors, and Chen, Yueyue's rescuer. However, *CNN.com* quoted profusely from Yueyue's parents while *CNTV English* made no quotes from them. The quotes from Yueyue's parents were very moving and touching on *CNN.com*. In the video in the coverage, "Mother, Nation Struggle long with Chinese Toddler in Hit-and-run Video", Yueyue's mother was quoted saying that "Don't give up on mom, Mom is not giving up. Let mom have one more chance to love and spoil you" and "I know my girl. She's strong." (*CNN.com*, 19th October 2011).

Compared to *CNN.com*, *CNTV English* quoted more from experts. Two of the selected articles, "Experts Call for Public to Help Accident Victim" and "Law Mulled to Make Aid Compulsory" almost only quoted from experts and scholars. The choice of quotes made the coverage on *CNN.com* a more humane story while *CNTV English* a detached discussion.

### *Wording and style*

Similar to the findings in Chapter 4, the tone of the coverage of *CNTV English* was comparatively detached when compared to *CNN.com*. *CNN.com* reported the news with more sensational and emotional descriptions and wordings, for instance, in its news report, "Outrage in China After Toddler Run Over, Ignored", the writer of the article wrote "In the emotional video posted online, the girl's wailing mother bows on her hands and knees, her forehead resting on the ground at Chen's feet -- a symbol of extreme deference to show the family's deep gratitude for her daughter's rescuer. The mother is inconsolable as loved ones lead her -- her body as limp as a rag doll's -- from the scene" (*CNN.com*, 18th October 2011). These descriptions showed the feelings of Yueyue's mother: regret, hurt but not without gratitude. Similar description cannot be found on *CNTV English*. Detailed observation made on the persons was also hardly there in the coverage of *CNTV English*.

In fact, on *CNN.com*, there were quite many footage showing injured Yueyue and her sad mother. These pictures were powerful enough to move the audience. As all related news reports on *CNTV English* were articles without any images, it therefore makes the coverage less sensational and poignant.

***Summary***

According to Entman (1993), salience is a very important element to making "frames" work. *CNN.com* framed the accident as a result of the low moral standard in China and the materialistic society. By repeating the phrase like "economic and social ladder", we can see that this frame is very manifest on *CNN.com*. Another focus of its news coverage was Yueyue's family's reaction, the footage and the detailed descriptions protruded the absurdity of the accident. Frame is defining a problem (Entman, 1993), and the problem of this accident as implicitly defined by *CNN.com* was indifference, immorality and materialism in society

In contrast, *CNTV English* framed the accident more as a result of a flaw in legislation. The discussions in the news coverage were about enacting legislation to protect good Samaritans and accident victims. The story was detached and less sensational. However, *CNTV English* also provides more in-depth discussions about the legal system in China than those on *CNN.com*.

## 5.4 Discussion

The framing analysis showed that the news coverage on *CNTV English* presented a very different perspective than *CNN.com*. In the military intervention in Libya coverage, *CNTV English* framed the event as an unreasonable intervention from the Western allied in Libya while *CNN.com* framed it as an action to help those citizens living in the dangers of Gaddafi's regime. Certainly, western audiences are comparatively heavily influenced by the frames in the news coverage produced by the global media. *CNTV English* has to be more skillful to frame the news to the foreign audience. The findings shows that *CNTV English* still tried to keep its reports balanced, for instance, it quoted opinions from countries which supported or not supported the action, although the condemnations to the Western military action was more salient. However, we can see that *CNTV English* also framed in a way which matched with the Chinese government's stance in the whole incident while reporting this kind of foreign policy news.

In Chapter 3, I suggest that Yueyue's accident is important because it exposes an increasingly materialistic Chinese society, a picture in conflict with the ideas of the CPC and its socialist road. Apart from the legislation problem, *CNN.com* mainly defines the accident as a

result of the Chinese citizens' "obsession with moving up the economic ladder." This kind of interpretation and social problem was neither emphasized nor downplayed on *CNTV English* where the footage of the accident was non-existent. The Chinese citizens and the Chinese government have always accused *CNN* of biased reporting denigrating China. *CNTV English* therefore has to provide an alternative voice to the Western audience. Avoiding the mentioning of the low moral standard or the materialism in China to the Western audience, *CNTV English* frames the accident as a matter of legislation. It is in fact very rational and also easy for Western audience to understand the story.

From the above comparisons, the alternative frames in the coverage of *CNTV English* are recognized. However, the study argues that the contents on *CNTV English* might not be very attractive to the Western audiences, for two reasons. Firstly, it has to abide to its superintender's directives, and has to avoid reporting sensitive issues, which could cause hindrances in making independent editorial decisions. For example, on *CNTV* videos and images were not as plenty as those can be found on *CNN.com*. In reporting Yueyue's story, *CNTV English*'s coverage was refrained from initiating in-depth discussion on social problems and using vivid video clips, because the website has an overriding task of promoting China's image. The analysis shows that *CNTV English* is constrained by its status of state-owned media, which predominates its role in international communication but at the same time handicaps its functioning as a powerful counter-hegemonic media flow. Secondly, limited resources have rendered a generally less impressive coverage on *CNTV*. No stories from its own correspondents in *CNTV*'s Libya coverage. The amount and variety of news and videos on *CNTV English* are also short of those on *CNN.com*, This being said, *CNTV English* has provided an alternative voice from the South to the North.

According to the typology of media flows, the contra-flow is the flow of media products which is against the dominance of Western media flow (Boyd-Barrett & Thussu, 1992). The English network of *CCTV* is seen as contra-flow (Thussu 2006). Nevertheless, *CCTV* or *CNTV English*, their roles as contra-flow have never been explored in detail. Although the finding of this research could show *CNTV English* has in fact provided "alternative news frames" which counter or reverse to those of *CNN.com*, it also shows that the news contents from *CNTV English* cannot be very attractive to the global audience. *CNTV English* is unlikely to have a substantial impact on *CNN.com*; therefore it is almost negligent to jump in the conclusion that *CNTV English* is playing a role as contra-flow.

# Chapter 6 Research Findings and Discussions

In previous sessions, a brief discussion has been introduced after presenting the findings in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. By studying *CNTV English*'s editorial policies, target audiences and news frames in contrast to *CNTV Chinese* and *CNN.com*, the role of *CNTV English* in the global media flows was understood. In this chapter, I answer the research questions presented in Chapter 2. Moreover, further discussions of *CNTV English*'s role as contra-flows in relation to the findings from this research are demonstrated.

*RQ1. What are the editorial system and target audience of CNTV English in contrast to CNTV Chinese?*

The editorial systems were presented in Chapter 4. I studied *CNTV's* editorial system by investigating its news contents and how they represent the editorial policies in *CCTV*. It is because *CNTV English* sources their news from *CCTV-NEWS* while *CNTV Chinese* sources from other *CCTV* Chinese channels. From the interview with Zheng, the producer of *CCTV-NEWS*, and John Jirik's study (2008), I found that although *CCTV-NEWS* has an editorial structure that is part of the broader editorial system functioning inside *CCTV*, individuals like producers and editors in *CCTV-NEWS* still manage to make their own decisions in selecting and reporting news stories.

However, for certain news events, the media, especially the state-owned media in China, have to follow the directives sent from SARFT and CPD. These directives instruct what should or should not be reported, and even how they should be reported. In other words, *CCTV-NEWS* and other *CCTV* Chinese channels shared similar if not the same directives from time to time. On the one hand, these directives set a paramount frame for news production in different channels; on the other hand, there was still room for editors to interpret and frame the news stories in their own ways within the guidelines as stated by Zheng in the interview.

There are different factors influencing the editorial practice in *CCTV-NEWS*, according to Zheng. The first guideline for *CCTV-NEWS* is to serve as a mouthpiece for China when reporting news of international significance. The channel has to make sure the voice of the Chinese government is transmitted to the world. The second is to follow the editorial

conventions of international media. The external propaganda function of *CCTV-NEWS* also means that *CCTV-NEWS* had to pay particular attention to reporting the domestic and foreign policy story in a manner conducive to promoting PRCS's image abroad (Jirik, 2008). While *CCTV* advances external propaganda, this is not the main function of *CCTV* Chinese Channels, especially *CCTV*-13 and *CCTV*-1. Instead, it aims to guide public opinion in China and to enhance CPC's dominant ideology.

Target audience is another major factor distinguishing the editorial decisions of *CCTV-NEWS* and other *CCTV* Chinese channels. Zheng stated that the target audience of *CCTV-NEWS* is the English-speaking population in the world; therefore they first have to take into consideration how its target audience watches television, what news programs they would be interested in. As *CNTV English* sources its news from *CCTV-NEWS*, therefore, the target audience of *CNTV English* is also the English-speaking population. In Chapter 4, I concluded that the target audience of *CNTV Chinese* is the Chinese population in China. Studying the editorial system and target audience for *CNTV English* in contrast to *CNTV Chinese* is a significant step for me to realize how these factors influence the frame-building process of *CNTV*. Certainly, both editions belong to *CNTV* and sometimes have to follow the same directives issued by CPD or SARFT. However, their different functions, target audiences and editorial guidelines at the same time imply the disparate frames in their news.

*RQ2. How does CNTV English frame news in contrast to CNTV Chinese? How do they differ from each other?*

I conducted a comparative framing analysis between *CNTV Chinese* and *CNTV English* by pinning down two news events--the international intervention in Libya and Yueyue's incident. Media frames reflect the beliefs of the public at large and are a result of a multitude of factors. Such factors that shape the selection of media frames include individual schemas of reporters and editors as well as journalistic practices and routines, cultural values and broader sociopolitical forces (Jha-Nambiar 2002; Shoemaker and Reese 1996). The findings of the framing analysis therefore showed the different functions and roles of *CNTV English*.

On reporting international intervention in Libya, both *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese* basically followed the directives by CPD mentioned in Chapter 4. Both news websites downplayed Muammar Gaddafi's dictatorship and highlighted the illegitimacy of the Western

military intervention. However, the degree of framing was different. By using sensational wordings, footages and salient headlines, *CNTV Chinese* strictly followed the directives. Comparing the framing tools like selection of quotes and video shots, I concluded that *CNTV English* was more balanced than *CNTV Chinese*. *CNTV English* basically quoted from both countries that supported and disapproved the allied air strike in Libya while *CNTV Chinese* favored only the criticism which focused on the negative side of the air strike. The inclinations embedded in the news frames from *CNTV English* were therefore more implicit than those on *CNTV Chinese*.

The directives and the Chinese foreign policy towards the UN resolution might have already set a general frame for *CNTV*, to which *CNTV English* somehow was less submissive than *CNTV Chinese was*. Professional journalistic balance was demonstrated in *CNTV English* but not in *the Chinese edition*. For Yueyue's case, I found that the two news websites also framed the news very differently. *CNTV Chinese* offered critical and in-depth discussions about implementing a Good Samaritan law and the decreasing moral standard in Chinese society. On the other hand, *CNTV English* almost only focused on the discussion about the Good Samaritan law. Furthermore, *CNTV Chinese*'s coverage about Yueyue was very sensational and humane while *CNTV English* framed the accident somehow as a problem caused by the legislation in China and the tone was also less emotional.

It is extremely interesting that *CNTV English* frames its news differently in contrast to *CNTV Chinese* though the two news production units are affiliated to thethe same state-owned online media.

*RQ3. How do the findings from RQ1 affect the frame-building on CNTV Chinese and CNTV English?*

Different factors influence how journalists frame issues, including social norms and organizational pressures (Dimitrova, D.V., Lee, L.K., Williams, A.P., & Trammell K. D., 2005). In the case of *CNTV*, the editorial policies and target audience were the major factors shaping the frame-building process of *CNTV English*.

Frame-building refers to factors such as editorial policies, news values and other external factors (de Vreese, 2005). From the answers of the first research question, we have known that

*CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese* are parts of the broader editorial system within which *CCTV* is embedded and that they share similar directives on particular news events. Nonetheless, there is still room for *CNTV English*'s editors to make their own editorial decisions.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the target audience is a major consideration for setting the news frames. In choosing frames, news editors and/or writers often implicitly speak to and for definite audiences (Ryan, 1999). Events are framed according to particular frameworks of interpretation shared by audience segments (Clausen, 2004: 27). As the interview with Zheng shows, the producers have to take into consideration in their target audience's demographics or political, cultural and economic background and then communicate the information in a way that they would accept. This means that *CNTV English* somehow has to be more skillful in framing their news to be well-received by the foreign audience. In the Libyan case, *CNTV English* has been more balanced in its news coverage as its target audience may hold a very different view on Muammor Gaddafi and his regime compared to the Chinese government. However, *CNTV Chinese* framed its news in a more explicit way to be in line with China's foreign policy as its audience is mainly Chinese nationals living in China where most of the Chinese local media held a similar news frame towards the Libyan incident.

The findings from Yueyue's incident also reflect that the external propaganda function for *CNTV English* and the guidance of public opinion function for *CNTV Chinese* were significant for their frame-building. *CNTV English* did not cover the moral discussions and condemned the l decreasing moral standard in Chinese society, which matched with its function of promoting PRC's image abroad. Instead of presenting China as a nation without trust and love, the coverage on *CNTV English* framed this incident as a flaw in legislation. Notwithstanding the same affiliation with the Chinese government that *CNTV English* and *CNTV Chinese* have, framing-building in these two news chapters are different. The differences are shaped by disparate target audiences and designated functions. The empirical investigations found that state-owned or state-controlled media followed the instructions from CPC to enhance the dominant news flow inside China. However, to further study *CNTV English*'s role in global communication, the answer to the fourth research question is very significant.

*RQ4. How does CNTV English frame news in contrast to CNN.com?*

The analysis of Chapter 5 shows that *CNTV English* and *CNN.com* framed their news stories differently and sometimes even contradictory. The Libyan coverage of *CNTV English* presented Gaddafi as a popular leader in his biography video while *CNN.com* framed him as an absurd person. For most news events concerning foreign policy issues, China's existing foreign policy serves as a supreme directive for media reports (See chapter 4). This finding has implications on the analysis of this research. The findings show how *CNTV English* framed the military intervention as an unreasonable action that damaged the territorial integrity of Libya. On the other hand, *CNN.com* framed the action as a means to help Libyan citizens whose lives were threaten by Gaddafi's regime.

The stance of the Chinese government is visible in the news frames of *CNTV English*. However, similar to the findings of the second research question, I found that *CNTV English* showed a more balanced presentation of *CNN.com*'s news. *CNN.com* almost only selected quotes from the Libyan rebels, the U.S. government or other countries joining as allies. *CNTV English,* on the contrary, selected some quotes made by the U.S. officials or the Prime Minister of Britain, in addition to quotes from Gaddafi and countries not supporting the Western troops which were dominant in the news reports.. Considering that *CNN* represented the dominant flow in global communication (Thussu, 2006), the findings show that contents on *CNTV English* are an alternative to the mainstream media like *CNN*.

The analysis of another news event, the Yueyue's incident, has also shown how *CNTV English* framed its news very differently from *CNN.com*. While *CNN.com* presented the incident as a result of the nation's obsession with moving up along the economic ladder and an increasing materialism in China, *CNTV English* avoided mentioning these reasons. It is because reasons like increasing materialism or the obsession with climbing the economic ladder are contradicted with the ideals of Socialism. As mentioned, the principle upholding the socialist road is extremely crucial for the Chinese journalists (Jirik, 2008: 291). The findings also revealed that *CNTV English* did not challenge or criticize an aggravating materialism in China. Instead, it framed the incident as a matter of lacking in legislation, to make it more understandable to the foreign audience.

*RQ5. What are the intended purposes of CNTV English in global communication? Does it fulfill its aims?*

In the previous chapters, I introduced the ambitions and functions of *CNTV English*. The role of *CNTV* is closely related to the Chinese government's strategy in global communication. As a state-owned media, *CNTV English* is part of an official campaign to harness the soft power of the country to match its rising economic clout and the expansion of *CNTV* is also part of the "going out" project (see Chapter 1). The empirical investigations also showed that external propaganda, bringing the voice of China to global audiences and responding or countering the coverage about China from the global media giants are the intended purposes for *CNTV English*. *CNTV English* represents the will of Chinese media to expand its influences to the other parts of the world where American and European media dominate. In other words, *CNTV English* theoretically also represents the contra-flow from the 'South' to 'North' in global media flows.

Nevertheless, I find that *CNTV English* has not successfully fulfilled its aims. Although *CNTV English* provided alternative news frames and the voice from China to a global audience, it neither sufficiently built an influential news platform to the global audience nor brought significant impact to the world. I argue that the contents on *CNTV English* might not be very attractive to its target audience. Therefore, its role as contra-flow to the global media dominance is questionable (See Chapter 5).

## 6.1 Rethinking the Concept of Contra-flows

In the discussion of Chapter 5, I suggest that it is negligent to jump into conclusions that *CNTV English* is playing a role as contra-flow in global media flows. In order to study if a media outlet is a contra-flow, it is essential to rethink the definition of contra-flow. As Boyd-Barret and Thussu (1992) stated, "Contra-flows are flows of media products that counter a historical dominance of the western media flows, from the less economically and politically powerful to the powerful, from the South to the North, or as horizontal South-South flows." Under this definition, the intended purposes, origin and contents of the media outlets are significant in considering whether a media agency is contra-flow, but it neglects how the media agency works in practice. This research reveals that *CNTV English* provided alternative news frames which are opposite to the dominant Western media, it is also a media from the South

which intended to respond to the reporting from global media giants like *CNN*. *CNTV English* therefore fulfilled the above concept of contra-flow.

Nevertheless, Thussu (2006: 234) also stated, "The question of how contra is contra and against whom also acquires salience." In addition, "Contra-flows in the full sense, would seem to imply not just reversed or alternative media flows, but a flow that is also counter-hegemonic" (Sakr, 2007: 116-117). In other words, to study the contra-flows, it is also crucial to take into consideration whether the actual impact of the media outlet as counter-hegemonic or not. It may be said that the resources and amount of news of *CNTV English* are not comparable with the American international media. The findings from comparative analysis also show that the news frames in the coverage of *CNTV English* did not influence those of *CNN.com*. The news coverage of *CNN.com* did not respond or mention the perspectives expressed from those of *CNTV English*. In other words, *CNTV English* in fact is unlikely to counter the American hegemony of global media cultures. In this sense, *CNTV English* can only be seen as a very limited contra-flow.

## 6.2 The Internal Contradictions of CNTV English

Certainly, it is not always easy for the South to counter the historical Western hegemony and dominance. However, I argue that *CNTV English* is particularly constrained by its status as state-owned media, which handicaps its functioning as a powerful counter-hegemonic media flow (see Chapter 5). To understand how the internal contradictions consume the powers of *CNTV English* as a contra-flow, it is essential to review the power relations of *CNTV English*.

*CNTV English* were intended to serve two different purposes in the global communication: a Chinese state-controlled media and a global media player. These dissimilar roles lead *CNTV English* to a self-contradictory situation. On the one hand, it should produce its news content according to its target audience' taste and framework, but on the other hand, it has to follow the CPC's directives and instructions. As mentioned, *CNTV English* is one of the many ambitious projects under the Chinese government's strategy in global communication. As a state-owned media institution from an authoritarian state like China, editorial independence is highly intervened by the state's foreign policies and political considerations. Although the interview with the *CCTV-NEWS*'s producer shows that *CNTV English* enjoys a comparatively high

editorial independence. My findings indicate that CPC is still the most significant force at the top of the hierarchy within *CNTV*. As mentioned in Chapter 1, there are no advertisements on *CNTV English* that implies it relies on the funding from *CCTV* or the state Treasury. This financial dependence reinforces its role as a propaganda tool. As such, the first primary goal for *CNTV English* is to fulfill its functions as external propaganda and the party's mouthpiece than to act as an influential global media. Following the editorial habits of international media and producing the news in accordance to its target audience's cultural or political background are in fact the secondary goals.

Indeed, my findings show that *CNTV English* was comparatively neutral in its news reporting in contrast to *CNTV Chinese*. The journalists in *CNTV English* did try to follow the journalistic value like showing opinions from different parties in the coverage of international military action in Libya. To attract the English-speaking audience, *CNTV English* was presented with a cleaner layout which caters the Western audiences' habits. However, journalists are in fact situated in a lower position of the hierarchy. They only have limited freedoms to frame certain news events and decide what to report. The target audience's tastes are therefore subordinate to the state's decisions.

As a new media, *CNTV English* supposed to enjoy the high degree of interaction and communication with its audiences, but it is far from the reality. As mentioned in Chapter 1, on *CNTV English*, there is a section for comments under every article or news video. The comment will not be posted directly until someone from *CNTV English* approved it. I also found no comments were made on the news reports which I selected for the analysis. A comment I made saying "great article" was not approved on the website. In other words, this function exists in name only. In addition, during my time on this research, I found that *CNTV English* has its own channel on YouTube (http://www.youtube.com/user/CNTV/). The biography of Gaddafi from *CNTV English* titled "Profile of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi" which I selected for the empirical investigation was once posted on that channel. All comments from the users were there criticizing the video was partial to Gaddafi and telling lies, some comments then accused CPC for controlling its media. However, the video was then removed few days after it was posted, afterwards, no video about Libya and Gaddafi was posted again on that channel. I therefore have no way to verify my observation. However, these observations are valuable as they show the failure of *CNTV English* to maximize the use of new media to attract and interact with its

target audience because of its role as a state-owned media from China. *CNTV English* cannot fulfill its intended purpose of building an influential platform.

The roles as a state-owned media and a global media player lead *CNTV English* to a set of irreconcilable conflicts. These are the conflicts between professional journalistic values and the Chinese government's controls; its function of external propaganda and its journalists' will to frame news according to global audiences' interests; the target audiences' cultural, political background and the directives and instructions from the Chinese state department. These conflicts could eventually hinder the potential of *CNTV English* as a possibly powerful contra-flow. It is hard for *CNTV English* to serve two roles, as an influential global media and a mouthpiece of CPC, at the same time.

## 6.3 An Alternative to the Chinese Edition

*CNTV Chinese* represents the dominant flows in China but is considered an alternative when compared to the global media. The findings of this research show that *CNTV English* on the one hand set its news frames which are similar to the Chinese government's perspectives and the related directives; on the other hand, its coverage was more balanced than *CNTV Chinese*. Studying *CNTV English* in the global communication, it may be posited that the news frames of *CNTV English* are not only an alternative to those from global media like *CNN.com* but also an alternative to its counterpart, *CNTV Chinese*.

It is a common phenomenon in China that the coverage of the English edition of Chinese state-owned media is different from its Chinese edition. I argue one of the major reasons is its target audience. Before promoting the CPC's image, the English edition also has to first present itself as a media with balanced coverage and liberal touch so as to acquire high credibility. Moreover, the English-language media and English editions of Chinese titles have the responsibility to inform foreign residents so that they live safe and sound in China. Those media therefore cover some topics and factual information absent from the Chinese language media. In addition, English, the language itself, also offers the English editors working in Chinese state-owned media more freedom. As the English-language media products are usually not consumed by the Chinese audience, I therefore propose that the language itself is perceived less dangerous in terms of influencing the public opinion. Certainly, it is also essential to consider that China is short of journalists with high English proficiency, thus

English editors are allowed to enjoy comparatively more freedom to make decisions in the state-controlled media as supported by my interview with the producers from *CCTV-NEWS*.

"The global media landscape in the first decade of the twenty-first century represents a complex terrain of multi-vocal, multimedia and multi-directional flows" (Thussu, 2006, p. 222). Even in the same media agency, its different language editions could still have different directions of flows. This study on *CNTV English* exactly reflects this complex media flows. *CNTV English* is of great importance for investigating the global media landscape nowadays, since it is neither inclined towards the traditional Chinese state-owned media nor to the international media. In the context of the global media flows, it is an alternative contra-flow.

I conclude that *CNTV English* is an alternative contra-flow which is state-controlled media from the authoritarian countries like China where freedom of press is hindered by the state. The manner representing in their media contents are usually localized for the foreign target audiences. On the surface, their contents are presented more liberal than the Chinese language media. However, the greatest purposes of these media are to promote the state's foreign policy and to expand its soft power. Their news content may be reversed or an alternative to those American and European global media giants as their main intention is to serve the states' political needs. In addition, their editorial directions can be adjusted from time to time in accordance to the state's policy. The role as a state-owned media which lacks of editorial independence withers its potential as a powerful contra-flow.

In time, further analysis of *CNTV English*, *CCTV-NEWS* and other English editions of the Chinese state-owned media should necessarily attend to show how this alternative contra-flow develops along with the changes of the media policy of China. More scholars and researchers will also have to focus on t how the editors and the state interact and negotiate in the reporting so as to understand how the Chinese state-owned news outflows to the world.

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# Appendix I: Interview Guide

## Introduction

-Description of the research and my background

-Questions about name of the interviewee and his position in CCTV-*NEWS*

## Main Questions

1. Do you think North American and European media are still dominating the global news flows? Facing global news agency like *CNN*, how do you perceive the role of CCTV-NEWS?

2. Could you explain the relationship between CCTV-NEWS and *CNTV English*? Since most of the news videos on CNTV were produced by CCTV-NEWS, do you know what the main duties of the Editors are in *CNTV English*?

3. What are the general editorial guidelines for staff working in CCTV-NEWS? Do you know if CCTV-NEWS, CCTV-4 and CCTV-1 are basically following similar editorial guidelines?

4. Are there any different editorial principles for reporting domestic news, international news and foreign policy news in CCTV-NEWS? What issues are prioritized when you are selecting the news as headline news?

5. How do you perceive your role as an Editor? For you, is Editorial autonomy significant? How do you describe the Editorial autonomy in your workplace?

6. In terms of news selection and news angle, who do the Editors in CCTV-NEWS report to? Who is the final decision maker for CCTV-NEWS?

7. When you are working on some sensitive reports, you might be required to give up some journalistic values like obligation to truth or to impartiality because of political reasons or social harmony; as a journalist, what will you do in this kind of situation? How do you perceive those journalistic values?

8. Who are the target audiences for CCTV-NEWS? How do you adjust your editorial decisions for your target audiences?

9. Do you think the function of external propaganda (Wai Xuan) for CCTV-NEWS is more important than CCTV-1 or CCTV-4? Besides, how does this function affect your editorial decision in CCTV-NEWS?

10. During the reporting of the military intervention in Libya 2011 and the traffic incident of Yueyue, did you get any special directives or instructions on how to report? (For instance, you are told to take a certain position in these news events or where the news should be sourced from) If yes, is it possible for you to disclose the main content of the instructions?